NO. 8 JULY 1971

10 CENTS

PUBLISHED BY SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE

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WORDS FROM THE PAST

New York Times concerning American and Australian involvement in Vietnam, reveals the deception and aggressiveness which governments perpetrate.

More than this it shows in clear and explicit terms what socialist have argued all along- that the war in Vietnam is a blatant attempt to stiffle revolution in the Third World.

The 7000 page study (3,000 pages of analysis, 4,000 pages of documents) made up in 1967 and 1968 was ordered by Robert McNamara, defence secretary in the Kennedy and Johnson administration. Examination of the report ('The Pentagon defeat. As we know, Johnson did not Study') asks the questions: how is it possible to justify the allied presence in Indo-

The official documents and analysis centre around the initial decision-making period of 1964 and 1965 when the basic shift in US strategy from 'broad committment' to 'total committment' occurred. The causes of the Vietnam war do not lie simply with Johnson. They also lie in the policies of Kennedy and Eisenhower. The study reveals that:

1) The Eisenhower administration's decision to rescue the unstable Vietnam- military operation against Nth. Vietnam ese government from Communist elector- began on Feb. 1 1964 under the code new communist regime of North Vietnam the 34A operation included flights over Vietnam were deliberate attempts to elections throughout all of Vietnam. For the White House knew that the National elections would result in a victory for Ho Chi Minh.

2) The Kennedy administration transformed Eisenhower's policy of 'limited risk gamble' to 'broad committment' Aspects of 'broad committment' included The third major segment was the Tonkin things like getting the CIA to overthrow the Diem regime.

3) With Kennedy's death, Johnson was left with two alternatives, i) withdraw from an already dishonourable program, or ii) total committment. Johnson chose the latter, with what the press have called strategy"

DARRYL HILLGROVE 'an extraordinary lack of self-questioning about the moral basis of the American The recent documented revelations by the war effort." (Age June 15, 1971)

> Johnson's choice, within the context of the Pentagon study, is inexplicable. That the military believed in the 'Domino theory', (in a perverted or simple way)we know. What we also know now, is that the CIA, despite(or because of) its heavy involvement in that time, in Laos's secret war did not believe in the Domino theory and said so to Johnson. As McCone (director of the CIA) said; 'in effect we will find ourselves mired down in combat in the jungle in a military effort that we cannot win and from which we will have extreme difficulty extracting ourselves" The C.I.A. also pointed out that bombing of North Vietnam would not bring it to

In the months between the Tonkin Gulf incident (august 1964) and president Johnsons re-election against Goldwater in November the U.S. prepared secret plans for air war against Nth. Vietnam. The actions against Nth. Vietnam were to be carried out in such a way as to 'provoke a Nth. Vietnamese response". As a top aide to McNamera said: "(This) would provide good grounds for us to escalate if we wished".

The elaborate programme of covert al victory, and to try and undermine the name Operation Plan 34A. Through 1964 gave it a'direct role in the ultimate break- Nth. Vietnam by U-2 spy planes kidnapwarfare teams were also parachuted into keep the Geneva Conference from calling the North. Commando raids were made from the sea to blow up rail and highway bridges, and P.T. boats bombed North Vietnamese coastal installations.

> The second major segment of the covert war consisted of air operations in Laos run primarily by the C.I.A.

Gulf incident which was the result of Johnson's decision five months previously to start heavy bombing of Nth. Vietnam. The Tonkin incident is confirmed as a deliberate provocation coming under the heading of, (to quote Assistant Defence Secretary Mc, Noughton) "provocation

Published by Col Maynard, 3 Uther St., Surry Hills, 2010 for Socialist Youth Alliance. Printed by Messenger Press, 912 Anzac Pde., Maroubra Junction.

No. 8. July, 1971.

All correspondence to Socialist Youth Alliance, P.O. Box 581, Sydney South, 2000.

Subscriptions \$1 for 6 issues.

In the election of 1964 Goldwater was defeated in the worst presidental defeat of modern times for advocating what has just occurred in the "covert"war of the previous months.

By early March 1965 General Maxwell Taylor U.S.A. Ambassador in South Vietnam) was communicating to Washington, (in what the study calls):"his sharp annoyance (with the) unnecessarily timid and ambivalent way in which the air war was being conducted". There was no need for Taylor to worry. On March 9 Johnson approved the use of napalm in Nth. Vietnam, and on April Fools Day 1965 Johnson made the secret decision to use American troops for Offensive action in south Vietnam, as the government had discovered that its long planned bombing of Nth. Vietnam was not going to stave off the collapse of the South Vietnamese government.

Although the president's decision was a "pivotal"change, the study declares: 'Mr. Johnson was greatly concerned that the step begiven as little prominence as possible". The decision was emodied in National Security Memorandum 328, on April 6 1965. The despicable covering up of intention was revealed in paragraph

"The President desires that premature publicity should be avoided by all possible precautions. The actions themselves "South-East Asia has been saved--s should be taken as rapidly as practicable remember that". but in ways that should minimise any appearance of sudden changes in policy" In this final deceit, amidst eighteen down of the Geneva settlement for Indo- pings of Nth. Vietnamese for intelligence months of deception, upon the American China in 1954' Eisenhower's policies in information. Sabotage and psychological people, Johnson involved the Americans in of Johnson and Menzies were a war that is now, factually confirmed, for what it has always been . .

> The Johnson administration had decided as early as Nov. 29,1964 to prod Australia Menzies power. for military committment in Indo-China. At this time a document concerning the Vietnam war was circulated amidst top level officials stating that "Australia and New Zealand will be pressed through their ambassadors, not only for support, but for additional contributions". (Australia was to be part of the "third country" policy of the U.S. to add credibility to its Vietnam role). Menzies At the moment the New York was quite willing to obey America, but

to do so he used the facade of a S.E.A.T.O printing more extracts from the obligation to legitimize our troop aid. However, first he needed a formal request from Saigon. The south Vietnamese, being nationalists, were wary, if nothing else, over the possibility of foreigners (including the bribed Thais, Filipinos, and Koreans) swarming over the countryside. This apprehension is confirmed by the dispatches of General Taylor. Hence the stubborn regime needed pressurizing, and so Taylor was instructed on April 8th. 1965, by Johnson to "persuade" Saigon to request Australian military assistance.

While in Saigon (December 29th. 1964) the then minister for Air, Howson, was supposed to have received a request from apologists and belated critics

prime minister Huong for military aid However, as Howson said "the intervie was in broken French-- and my French no good--but it was a very definite request for assistance".

If this is so why was there no formal request (in clear English) directed to Australian government in the following months? However during this period Menzies made plans for the sending d a batallion to Vietnam. But a press leakage occured and so an official announcement to parliament was needs soon. Finally on April 29th., out of desperation and with Australia's ambasador's cables stressing the possibility of a formal request from Saigon for military aid, Menzies made this states to parliament:

"The Australian government is now in receipt of a request from the government of south Vietnam for further military assistance". The planned infantry batallion could now be sent.

After this Johnson cabled his feigner surprise, saying he was "delighted" our troop involvement at the requi of the south Vietnam government

The Minister who acknowledges he closest to Menzies during this perio was McMahon, our present prime minister, who stated on June 18th.

The Pentagon study confirms what have already known; that the dedisregard of the Vietnam people American and the Australian. democracy, and the truth were ies, that have never recovered. We still living the fantasies of Johnson;

It is interesting to note that Danie Ellsberg, former U.S. Defence Dep ber was the source who leaked the report to the press. Itwassaid that haunted by the fact that he (like a) other decision makers) might be a recriminal in his own Nurembers trial.

under Government injuction As Reston (contributing Editor) P "For the first time in the history republic the Attorney General of the States has tried to suppress docum hasn't read, about a war that hash been declared. This is one of the ironies of this tragic Vietnam was Not really. The final irony is the spectacle of the bourgeois press proclaiming their own innocence the involvement in Vietnam. really take these private docu convince them that the U.S. blatant aggressor in Vietnam. who remembers their role will ke just which part of the Nurembers be room should be assigned to these b

MELBOURNE MORATORIUM POLITICS DAVE HOLMES

As this article is being written(June 17)it seems that the June 30 Moratorium could equal, if not surpass in size, the May action of last year. The June 30 action is long overdue- it will be over nine months since the Moratorium of last Sept- form of action chosen reflected the tiredember. And if June 30 has had a long gestation period its birth was severely imperilled by a plan of action favoured by a certain section of the anti-war move-

A plan put forward by the VMC executive these people. It derived from a misplacand endorsed by the VMC committee (a compromise on the initial propo sals which were principally endorsed by the CP and CICD) called for demonstrators to There, one wing of the US anti-war simultaneously assemble outside the Town movement, the Peoples' Coalition for Hall- City Square area. Three radial marches were to converge on this area at for actions on . . . April 30, May 30 and that time to lessen any danger!

Within the Committee the main opposition to the plan came from SYA, the Maoists and certain area groups. The glaring weakness of this plan was that it demanded an impossible coordination and synchronization. In the (necessary) absence of this, the Moratorium would be laid open to police dispersion before it had even begun. SYA supported a demonstration along the basic lines of last years Moratorium. This form of action has been tried and is effective. The Treasury Gardens is a safe assembly and rally area and marching into the city pro- of Washington. vides a tremendous experience of solidarity, and shows the strength of the antiwar movement in a dramatic way.

At a belatedly-called mass meeting of activists, in the Richmond Town Hall on June 7 we opposed the Executive's proposals. SYA successfully moved that the VMC toss out the Executive's proposals and instead rally briefly in the Treasury Gardens, then march into the City Centre. -instead of learning from the tremend-

told 'demanded' something 'new' and 'dramatic' massively rejected the Executive's plan and adopted the basic format of last year's Moratorium.

For us, the struggle was not merely one over 'details': such a struggle reflects different political approaches to the antiwar movement. These difficulties have been evident for a long time now .

After the September Moratorium SYA wanted to repeat the action before too

long. However, it was not until April 30 that anything was done. And then it was the so-called 'decentralised' action which was a miserable failure. The long lapse between September and April 30, and the ness, frustration and cynicism as regards mass action -- of some sections of the anti-war movement.

The very date chosen for the 'decentralised' action is a clue to the politics of ed enthusiasm for the proposals of the American delegation to the Stockholm Peace Conference held just previously. Peace and Justice (PCPJ) outlined plans June 30. However, in the event, the real anti-war demonstrations were organized by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) on April 24 and were massively successful.

The actions of the PCPJ, in contrast, were a complete failure. They, perhaps, made a point about the Washington cops but, as an anti-war protest they were useless, even harmful. The PCPJ used the slogan "If the Government won't stop the war, then the people will stop the Government". On May Day they attempted to stop the normal functioning

The politics of the PCPJ display a frustration, hostility and cynicism towards mass action. It is thus not half accidental that some advocates of the VMC Executive's plan should refer to the 'inspiration'of the Washington May Day events ie., they certainly 'learn' from an international experience but they are predisposed to learn all the wrong lessons ously successful mass actions of April 24 in Washington and San Francisco, they Rank and file opinion, which we had been take their cue from political failures.

> Hence this emphasis on occupying the city and stopping its normal functioning. Now, we have no objection to occupying Melbourne as long as it helps us demonst-rate against the war! An occupation should not be elevated out of that context. At Richmond Town Hall, the incredible proposition was put (by a supporter of the VMC Executive plan) that if the police dispersed us they would have to block the city and thus they would be achieving our objective (?!) anyway! Perhaps it would make a point to some about state

violence, but our anti-war demonstration the Australian war effort. would be wrecked.

mass action can force the Australian bourgeoisie to get out of Vietnam. Each demonstration is a moment in the building of such a mass movement. It registers the progress made and welds the demonstrators closer together. Each mass demonstration helps to radicalize hitherto passive layers of people against the war. This is what the supporters of the VMC Executive's plan forgot when they told us that 'people' (who?) were bored and needed 'new' forms of action- a mass demonstration not only involves those who participate, but also, as yet unmobilized layers. Hence, repetition, even as to basic form, is not harmful, but essential.

What of the future of the Moratorium after June 30? Regardless of the action of June 30 we should like to make some points. Firstly, the most important, (though not exclusive) form of anti-war action is the mass demonstration, as we have witnessed twice already and hopefully will do on June 30. Another mass time in the next few months.

idea of a 'peoples' peace' which was raised by the PCPJ in America, and now echoed by SDS and RAM (see the first issue of 'Troll'). To this section of the movement adopting this idea is a prime task. We disagree completely.

The 'peace treaty' plan says that if the Australian government won't make peace with the Vietnamese then the Australian people will. This peace treaty would still have to be implemented and only mass action could do this. Thus we are back where we started. What would be the content of this treaty? It calls for the government to set the date' for with-

drawal of troops and material from Indo-China. This is a reformist, sell-out demand. The government can agree to a date and then break it, This demand recognizes the government's right to be there in the first place and merely gives it greater room for manoeuvre. There is a brutal contradiction in calling the war an atrocity and demanding that it end some time inthe future. Our demand is Withdraw all troops NOW!

SDS/RAM has quite a history of such schemes, all of them characterised by a retreat from mass action. There was a 'decentralised action' Son resistance' 'consumer resistance' and now census resistance'. This latter suggests we give our nationality as Vietnamese on the census form. By all means! Only don't let's fool ourselves that this will break

The second point we wish to make is that No, there are no short cuts! Only untiring the VMC should be organized far more democratically. This is a practical necessity if the anti-war movement is to tap fully the large, growing anti-war sentiment. At present, most of the decisions are made by the VMC Commitee which consists of delegates from each affiliated organization. The mass meetings are episodic and have only a consultative voice. However, practically the Committee is bound to respect the wishes of the mass meetings.

SYA has moved a proposal to reform the VMC to make it more democratic. The mass meetings should be held regularly (every month say) and should be based on individuals affiliating to the VMC for a small fee. This would give the VMC a greater financial stability and would enable it to mail to sponsors, thus giving them a greater sense of involvement. A campaign should then be launched to recruit such individual sponsors. This would be the means to involve some of the thousands of anti-war supporters who have marched so far. In the inten m, demonstration should be projected some- the mass meetings would still only have a consultative voice ie., the Committee would continue, but clearly it could not At this point we wish to totally reject the override the decisions of the mass meetings. These proposals will be considered at a mass meeting early in July.

> The Australian anti-war movement has already become a political force, 'It has become a significant factor in limiting the Australian government's commitment to the war in Vietnam. Given the necessary political and organizational direction, we believe it can become powerful enough to end Australia's part in the war.

On the streets, June 30! Withdraw all the troops NOW! Solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution!

ANTI-WAR UNIVERSITIES

MELBOURNE

A general meeting of students was held at La Trobe University on Wednesday June 23rd. 850 to 1000 students attended.

Amotion calling for a one week strike was passed overwhelmingly. The meeting Sydney University at an official meetalso decided to use the facilities of the university for anti-war work.

of SYA and seconded by Bary York of Worker Student Alliance. Ruth pointed out that the strike was something concrete that the students could do against the war. During the strike various activities are planned. Arguments against the strike by the right and other reactionaries were completely rejected by the meeting It was in fact pointed out by various people how heavily Australian universities are used for the Vietnam war.

Student strikes affect the government's war policy, as shown by the US general

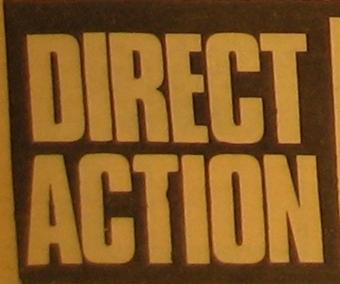
The La Trobe strike reflects the widespread anti-war consciousness of students, and shows the way forward for the future.

On June the 23rd the Student Body of ing chaired by the SRC considered a detailed motion which was in essence a) That this meeting of the student The motion was moved by Ruth Champion hody calls on all students to boycott lectures and tutorials in favor of antiwar activities on June, 30th.

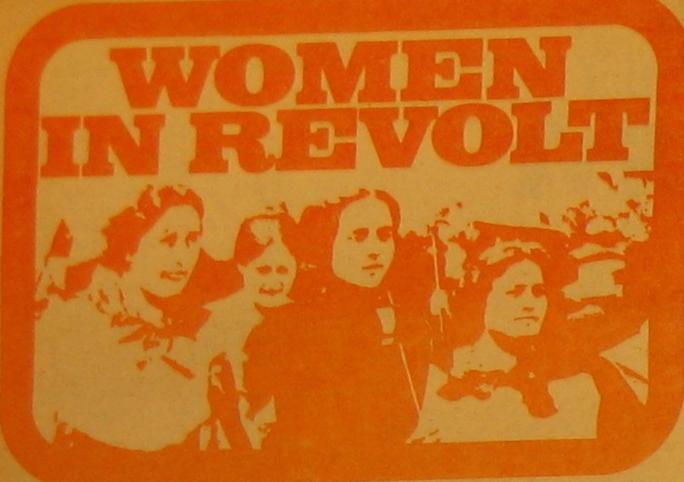
> b) This meeting calls on all staff to either cancel their lectures and tutorials on June 30th or abide by the democratic will of the students decided at earlier lectures and tutorials prior to June 30th as to what should be done on June, 30th.

The meeting which consisted of about 2500 students voted 90% in favor of the motions. This, was the students answer to a petition that had earlier been circulcirculated amongst high ranking academics calling on academics not to take part in activities on June 30th. It is now necessary to galvinise the massive student support into a concrete form in order to carry out the motion. For this

student strike in May 1970. At Monash University no classes will be held on the afternoon of June 30. Also at Melbourne University a strike motion was defeated at a general meeting. However a motion reason it is necessary to form well was passed which left the question of a day organised groups to picket lecture day strike to each class involved.



These members of the N.L.F. don't have a defeated or frustrated



SELLING OF SEX

The selling of sex was the main theme of the women's liberation demonstration at the final of the Miss Teenage of Victoria Quest held at the Melbourne Town Hall on June 17th. The Women's Action Committee along with S.Y.A. Women's Caucus showed their opposition by displaying numerous placards and banners condemning the way in which women are promoted as sex objects, one banner depicted 2 cows and a girl in a bikini, drawing an apt comparison. The punch line reading "Is this all women are". A leaflet was distributed pointing out that beauty contests perpetuate the theory that beauty is more important then any other qualities women might have.

The demonstration received wide press coverage but as usual the write up was poor quality. The press refuses to put across the women's liberation views, but does its best to send it up, making out the movement is composed entirely of female extremists.

by this coalition within the last 2 months, the first being against 'Mothers Day' which serves to reinforce the role of women in society. The second was the anti-abortion public meeting.

IRISH WOMENS' LIBERATION

On May 22 the Irish women's liberation movement openly defied the Irish laws banning the importation or sale of contraceptives in Ireland - and got away with it. Forty-seven women's liberation activists traveled to Belfast in Northern Ireland, where contraceptives are legal, stocked up on many different kinds of contraceptives, and came back into Dublin by train.

The May 23 Washington Post describe: their reception in Dublin: "After confiscating a few devices, customs officials gave up the battle when the militants began hurling their contraceptives across the customs barrier to hundreds of cheering women inside Connolly Station".

No searches were made of women who said they were wearing internal contraceptive devices. "So many women

said the Washington Post, "that customs officials yielded. 'We don't want them; you can go through, " they said, looking a bit rumpled.

The women also brought back literature on birth control, which is also banned under the censorship act of 1948. The right to contraception is one of the hottest issues in Ireland at the present time, and the women's liberation movement is growing because of its leadership of the struggle for the right of Irish women to control their own bodies. The May 9 Observer, a London weekly, remarked that although the women's liberation movement has also acted against the economic discrimination Irish women suffer, "contraception is the issue which has drawn to them women of all classes in Irish society."

WOMENS' CONFERENCE

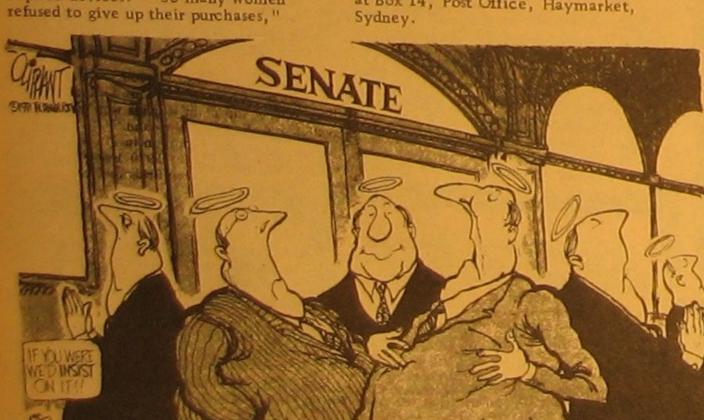
Do you know that nearly 32 per cent of all Australian workers are women? Do you know that more than 53 per cent of these women have family responsibilities and thus work at two jobs - one under paid and one not paid at all? Doyou know that most women workers are which kills the fertilised egg, so in employed in the clerical industry and as production workers?

Do you know that 206,000 working parents The State and church are using the have 257, 000 children under the age of six, but only 18,500 of these children have places in creches, nurseries and child-care centres? Do you know how many women are trade union leaders? (We don't either, but there are very few, even in unions covering industries which mainly employ women).

Do you agree that women workers have the right to genuine equal pay, that is, one rate should be paid for each job regardless of sex; to equal opportunity in education and job training; to control their fertility; to have paid maternity leave and that child-care centres should be available for all children without cost to parents?

These are some of the questions which moved women workers (members of a variety of trade unions) in Sydney, Melboume, Brisbane, Wollongong, Newcastle and Canberra, to decide to hold a Women's Liberation Trade Union Conference in Melbourne on August 28 and 29, and to lobby the A.C.T.U. Congress at its opening on August 30 to help focus attention on the questions of concern to working women.

Allwomen are invited to participate and to take part in the preparations. They can do so by writing to Aileen Beaver at Box 14, Post Office, Haymarket, Sydney.



STRUGGLE FOR FREE ABORTION

With the rise of the women's movement

JENNY FERGUSON

the church and state have stepped up their propaganda drive around the issue of abortion. At a recent anti-abortion meeting at the Melbourne Town Hall on June 1st organised by the Human Life Research Foundation, with six prominent speakers only one of which was a woman, it was quite easy to see how these priests, doctors and professors who are shouting the loudest against women having the right to control their bodies have no idea what the fear of pregnancy and of forced motherhood means to a woman. They persisted with such arguments as "every child is a wanted child", "to make abortion legal will mean the completion of the sexual revolution", "abortion can only be described as murder", "how could a psychiatrist know if a girl was genuine or faking." There were never any concrete arguments put up by the speakers. Instead they relied on emotionalism to appeal to their ardent followers - such things as films showing dead foetuses, some of which "had been known to cry as they were dropped into the surgical rubbish bins(?) Using such rhetoric was their only weapon, making out women are not complete in their role unless they accept motherhood as a natural part of their duty in the eyes of God and the State.

The anti-abortion forces support the oppression of women by justifying the rights of the foetus. "It is absurd to compare the "rights of the foetus" to those of a pregnant woman. The woman is a live human being who has the right to control her own body and the right to determine her own future. If the authorities go so far as to call abortion murder, then the same must apply to all methods of contraception turn killing a potential human being.

abortion issue for their own purposes. Both these institutions keep people in ignorance and fear about the way they should run their lives; condemning premarital sex, making contraceptives hard to obtain by having to have a doctor's prescription and keeping the cost high thus making it impossible for working-class women to afford, and of course making abortion illegal unless youcan prove to a psychiatrist and a few doctors that you are insane and about to commit suicide. These people who care so much for the right to life of the unborn continually turn a blind eye to the problems the majority of women face; the constant torment that accompanies any se xual activity, because they must face the possible consequences the despair and suffering from having their whole lives determined by the responsibility to have to care for one child after another - the guilt and humiliation that accompanies having an illegitimate child. These problems are just some of the many women are faced with and will continue to be, unless they are part of the privileged few who can afford to bribe their psychiatrist and doctor, afford to have a quick divorce with no questions asked, afford to buy contraceptives, and feed, clothe and school their children lavishly.

"To make abortion legal will mean the completion of the sexual revolution." This argument that legalising abortion will inevitably lead to a permissive society shows that the church and state do not think that people are capable of running their lives unless they are told what is right or wrong for them.

And yet this same system promotes the exploitation of women as sex objects by fostering prostitution, selling products with sex, promoting beauty contests and generally putting women on display.

The sexual revolution we are fighting for is not one in the perverted sense of increasing promiscuity and the exploiting of women as sexual objects, but a revolution where sex is accepted as something good and natural, and not only admissable when it results in reproduction. This dehumanises women and is a distortion of sexuality common in society

"Every child is a wanted child" is completely out of context, in effect what it really means is more institution for the unwanted and more starving bell. ies. These people shout for the right to life, but yet are complete hypocrites when it comes to protecting the right to life of those children already born. The people shouldn't have to look far in the own community to see the thousands of children who suffer through being the victims of young or unwanted marriage where their parents cannot be bothered with them, or just haven't got the time to look after them because both parents work. The fatality rate of Aboriginal children is high when denied any basic medical care. The orphanages and correction homes for many of these children are quite often worse than prison conditions. The adoption process is a long drawn out one making it extremely hard for children to be adorted Under this present system it doesn't leave much room for many wanted children.

"That abortion is a risky business" is a myth doctors have built up around the operation, justifying the extremely high cost, making it impossible for working-class woman to obtain them The real fact often is that doctors line it an extremely simple operation and find it very boring after a time. Wh the new aspirator (suction) method physcians would like to see paramedical specialists trained to perform abortion with the aspirator. This method would provide efficient, inexpensive care q a mass basis. Childbirth is statistically 8-10 times as dangerous than abortion a yet nurses are being trained as mid-wire why then can't medical personnel also be trained to use the aspirator.

This system demands that women raisen look after children, but denies them the right to decide whether or not to have children.

The issue of abortion and the associated issues of contraception and sterilization are central to the growing women's movement for only when women have the basic right to complete control over their bodies, will they be able to determine their own future in even the most elementary way. It is the first step in the struggle for completeliberate

ABORTION DEMONSTRATION

Approximately forty women from the Abortion Law Reform Group, the Campaign for Free Contraception and Abortion, and various women's liberation groups, demonstrated outside the Town Hall on the Saturday momiss of the ALP State Conference, bearing blacards reading "Children by Choice" Free Abortion on Demand" "Women's Bodies are not State Property" and others. Leaflets were distributed to delegates arriving at the Conference and to passers by, and petition was circulated.

However, during the conference a motion on legalisation of abortion and homosexuality, moved by George Petersen, was overwhelmingly defeate

EUROPEAN

Following the example of the Movem for Freedom of Abortion and the Wome en's Liberation Movement of France, who recently published the statement of women who have had illegal abort under French Law, (including such we known women as Simone de Beauvoir, Francoise Sagan and Catherine Denew 374 West German women so far have signed a similar statement, among them actresses Romy Schneider, Han Wiede and model Veruschka.

This has received enormous press publicity and has placed the German authorities in an embarrassing dilem as they have no alternative but to proceed against them and this could le to up to fiveyears gaol to offenders if they are found guilty. This has mean a boost in the movement in Germany as wider layers of women join in the campaign, which up until now has mainly been carried out by such women's groups as Women's Action 70 in Frankfurt, the Socialist Women League in West Berlin and assorted individuals.

This issue is obviously the most imp ant issue around which women are re ing throughout the world.

ROADBELONGCARGC

A REPORT ON THE CULTS

The social phenomena of Messianic and Millenarian movements in the past have not been solely confined to Melanesia. In fact, cults have been part of society wherever one group of people have been oppressed and dominated by another.

Millenarian beliefs have occurred again and again throughout world history, despite failures, disappointments and repression, precisely because they have such a strong appeal to the oppressed and downtrodden. Cults have appeared frequently in colonial countries during the early stages of the establishment of colonial regimes particularly because Western civilisation with its technology has impinged on traditional cultures. and often destroyed or rendered useless many traditional ways of life without replacing them with forms acceptable to the people.

Cults have often served as an expression of reaction against what is felt as oppression by another group, class and nationality. Millenarian movements have appeared at one time or another in Europe, North and South America, Africa, China, Burma Indonesia and Vietnam. In North America, millenarian cults have appeared amongst the Indians, following their defeat and humiliation by the whites. The series of Ghost Dances of the 1870's and 1890's promised the return of the dead if people abandoned sin and adopted the cult. With most tribes this was accepted in passive terms but to the Sioux however, the loss of lands and buffalo, and violated treaties led to a series of events which culminated in the bloody massacre at Wounded Knee when 300 Stoux were moved down by machine guns.

In China, the most striking movement as the Taiping revolution. Initiated by the visionary, Hung Sui-ch'uan and influenced by Christianity he formulated a new creed based on the Ten Command-

Christianity itself started from the millenarist traditions of the Essenes at the beginning of the Christian era. The people of that time looked forward to the establishment of an earthly kingdom of the Lord, and to the freeing of the Jews from Roman oppression.

In Vietnam, the stresses of the last decade produced the Cao Dai and Hoa Hao movements.

In this article, we are examining the type of millenarian movement prevalent in the Melanesian Islands and Nuigini. In this case it involves cults occurring amongst divided groupings of tribes that can be said to be 'stateless' societies. Societies which have no overall unity and lacking in any political machinery that functions to govern the whole country.

When these movements do occur, they tend to overcome divisions and to weld groups together in a new unity no matter what previous factors prevailed eg., most tribes were so diversified that fighting occurred regularly

The cargo cult unifies different tribes together in a social movement. Most cults occur out of a desire for social and economic improvement, and this often leads to confused and mistaken beliefs about money and the manufacturing of goods- usually European. This results from a state of 'hopeless envy' that leads to an effort to inaugurate changes and reorganization in thought, behaviour and social relationships as a result of changed conditions, with problems brought about by the existing colonial structure of society.

The appearance of the Whites- the Germans and Australians- with their obvious wealth combined with the ignorance of the Islander and Nuiginian to the technical process, along with a growing awareness of the inequalities of wealth and power distribution between themselves and the Europeans, brought about movements for better social and economic conditions.

After the beginning of colonial rule and after the war, the position of the Nuigin-

ian had not been advanced much. Colonial occupation left nothing of value to the people The general belief that the Whites were withholding something from them came out of the inadequate process of education that did not involve a wide subject criteria or explanation of the nature and process of modern society. This quote exemplifies it:

'They showed us a picture of God in a book. They did not show us God..... God has waited and waited for you, white men to teach us. But you have not understood or helped us. You have hidden your knowledge.

If only you would not withhold your ideas from us, we could be brothers....you and I and my children would sit down at one table, sleep in one house. We would not have to go away while you eat... Our minds brother, are like a worm under the earth, trying to find a way to the surface. We go on and on, and we are just about to come up when the white man say"No!" and blocks the way. We go back. We make another tunnel. Again we work on and on. Again we are just about to find a way out when the white man says 'No, no good you have understanding" and blocks the way.

With the mission schooling of the colonial era, there were still a majority of illiterate people, ignorance was common, and even prominent men did not have a full understanding of the function of the government, economy or technology. (This is still prevalent today in parts of the Highlands as shown by recent efforts at political education

The basic wish for power and wealth possessed by the whites combined with general tack of knowledge led to the state of envy which could not be satis-After the war there was a proliferation of cult activity. The mixture of whites and blacks in the World War II US army impressed the Nuiginian. This mbined with the tremendous amount war supplies in the form of food, machinery tools, clothing and weapons, along the general destructionoi goods due opplies by ship and their availability to the soldier via the quartermaster with his requisition forms (unique to them)led to the belief that ropeans did not have

The misconception was widespread. The belief that the Europeans obtained their goods via magic alone, was prevalentthis combined with their own view that

to work for goods.

their traditional goods were achieved through work and ritual, led them to believe that this was the way that Europeans obtained their goods, but without any apparent work.

It is no exaggeration to say that the natives cannot appreciate that Europeans engage in any physical labour at all, and that consequently they imagine that the 'work' by which they obtain cargo is secret ritual. Therefore ritual is inevitably stressed to the exclusion of physical (Lawerance) labour. "

With the appearance of the whites and blacks in the US army aquisition of cargo went beyond the attainment of material things. It soon became symbolic of

deeper needs -equality. The restoration of equivalence between men, due to the refusal of the whites to treat blacks as brothers and by the use of his irresistible power and savoir-faire when the two

Melanesian goals for the attainment of 'cargo' were conditioned by a notion of right to the possession of cargo- through cultural and social values with the ideas of rights much wider than the western concept. This right is not the same as the said to be claimed by Daniel Hawena. socialist conception of right to a product which is socially produced but privately appropriated- which the whites are denying them. This concept of denial resulted knowledge of the sacrifice. because rumours that 'cargo' sent by their ancestors were intercepted by the

"During the time the white man has been present in our lands, so it was told, we have seen the many 'good things'- steel, tomahawks, steel knives, cloth, saucepans etc., and the good foods, which have all come to our country from outside ... these good things have always been sent to us by our predeceased forefathers, but instead of finding their way direct to us, they put them into trade stores, and we had to work very hard to get even a part of them. However, our predeceased forefathers have found out what has happened to all these goods and now they will ago, has broken out in the New West bring them direct to us."

Cults have occurred mainly through a message communicated to people from the spirit world through a dream or vision. ied out- usually containing European elements of Christian behief. The predic-tion of the coming of 'cargo' results, reforms take place, there is a rejection of the past and preparations for the cargo

Activities concerned with the preparation for the coming 'cargo' does not entail merely destruction and avoidance of rational economic activity but also sees the construction of store sheds, jettles and

'Part of the message of the airstrip or cargo-wharf to the observer is 'what we want is right. It is part of an affirmation of native claims, native community solidarity, native values in the face of what is discerned as being an impassive, unsympathetic or hostile outside world."

(Firth) Even when cargo doesn't come, ardent wishes and hopes pour into the movement to bolster it up and revive it, time after time, despite fallures.

The Sepik District has been the focus of a strong Millenarian movement in the post-war period precisely because of the loss of independence caused by the establishment of colonial rule. The myth of the return of the dead, of cargo, the use of various Christian elements, aggress ion and even violence towards Europeans was a characteristic of the cults of this area.

Yeliwan Matthias, prophet, visionary and leader of his people emerged last month at the head of the current cult movement in the Sepik district. The movement that is spreading rapidly throughout the Sepik district involves the ceremonial removal

The removal of the markers would take

south-west of Wewak.

place 'on the seventh day of the seventh month' said Yeliwan, a 42 year-old former policeman and later, a worker for the Roman Catholic Mission at Wirui. Yeliwan said that the plenty would come not from the hole underneath the markers but from the ground. Meaning that their gardens will bear well and that game would become abundant in the bush. Yeliwan at present, is believed to be fasting, and is living in a house on the side of Mt Turu, with his brother.

of cement markers placed on the 4,000 ft

Mt Turu in the Maprick district, 60 miles

The report of the planned sacrifices of two people, Yeliwan and another, was the deputy leader of the cult and seemingly a driving force behind the movement, but Yeliwan himself disclaims any

The Administration has said that it will take no action to remove the cement markers or interfere with the cult but confirmed that the 'illegal' removal of the markers would be followed by judicial action. The Administration though, is working behind the scenes in an attempt to rubbish the cult by helping the antimovement forces.

Mr Beibi Yembanda, MHR (Wewak), a member of the cult, has been pressured by the Administration into giving it up. He still believes in it.

A second cargo cult, initiated five years Britain District and is reported to have more than 5,000 followers in that area alone. They are waiting for the completion of the new overseas wharf at Kimbe. Then they expect 'cargo' to come. When The prophet foresees a millenium of pros- it does it would signal the independence perity and this leads to rituals being car- of Nuigini, and the Australian government would be asked to go, along with all Europeans. The cult is led by a Nakanai man named lima. It is reported that he has collected \$4,500, now in a trust int put there by the bishop of Rabaul e denied the offer of accepting it y 'laws' from the church

> presence of cargo activity in Nuini points to the fact that the people involved are dissatisfied with current condirions in their areas. The economic and material has led the people to what might be termed as their last desperate effort to gain what they lack and will never have while the current set-up continues.

> The outcry of these people at the oppression of the European culminates in the form of 'cargo activity'. No political organization can yet voice what is an undercurrent in the existing colonial structure of that society. An undercurrent which exists because of the extreme poverty. The people, themselves want economic improvement. Everywhere about them they see the obvious wealth of the whites.

The Nuiginian is told to work harder to achieve more. He is already working hard, harder than any white-tilling the soil and carrying cargo belonging to the white. Still they can't understand why they get nowhere, and have so little. All around them they see the European who does not seem to perform any sort of physical labour at all. The people then wonder if the European is not with-holding something from them- and of course, in the final analysis they are right.





Yeliwan Matthias.

WELL, IF I WERE PREGNANT I CERTAINLY WOULDN'T HAVE AN ABORTION!

The battle of Rockefeller Center

When Nelson Rockefeller decided to build the concrete and steel monument to his wealth, Rockefeller Centre, he also decided that it would be decorated by the world's greatest artists. Necessarily one of the artists selected was Diego Rivera, the greatest Mexican revolutionary equally optimistic! muralist.

Rockefeller got more than he bargained for. Rivera told the truth in his fresco he showed the oppression and poverty to the working class in the depression. He showed fascism. And he showed the struggle for the socialist future, with Lenin in a central position. Rockefeller demanded that the fresco be changed. Rivera refused. Ultimately, after months of legal disputes, Rockefeller had the mural torn down. In "Portrait of America", Rivera describes the "Battle of Rockefeller Centre".

by Diego Rivera

I preserve a beautiful memory of this "Battle of Rockefeller Centre." A mysterious warlike atmosphere made itself felt from the very morning of the day that hostilities broke out. The private police patrolling the Centre had already been reinforced during the preceding week, and on that day their number was again doubled. Towards eleven o'clock in the morning, the commander-in-chief of the building and his subordinate generals of personnel issued orders to the uniformed porters and detectives on duty to deploy their men and to begin occupying the important strategic positions on the front line and the flanks and even behind the little working shack erected on the mezzanine floor which was the headquarters of the defending cohorts.

The siege was laid in strict accordance with the best military practice. The lieutenants ordered their forces not to allow their line to be flanked nor to permit entrance to the beleaguered fort to anyone besides the painter and his

assistants (five men and two women) who constituted the total strength of the army to be subdued and driven from its positions. And all this to prevent the imminent collapse of the existing social order! I wish I could have been

Throughout the day our movements were closely watched. At dinner time, when our forces were reduced to a minimum - only I, my Japanese assistant, Hideo Noda, my Bulgarian assistant, Stephen Dimitroff, and the Swiss-American Luciean Bloch, were on duty - the assault took place.

Before opening fire, and simultaneously with the final maneuvers which occupied the strategic posts and reinforced those already occupied, there presented himself, in all the splendor of his power and glory, and in keeping with the best gentlemanly traditions of His Majesty's Army, the great capitalist plenipontentiary, Field-Marshall of the contractors, Mr. Robertson, of Robertson and Todd, Protected by a triple line of men in uniform and civilian clothes, Mr. Robertson invited me down from the scaffold to parley discreetly in the interior of the working shack and to deliver the ultimatum along with the final check. I was ordered to stop work.

who had been hidden in ambush, charged upon the scaffold, replaced it expertly with smaller ones previously prepared and held ready, and then began to raise into position the large frames of stretched canvas with which they covered the wall. The entrance to the building was closed off with a thick heavy curtain (was is also bullet - proof)? while the streets surrounding the Centre were patrolled by mounted policemen and the upper air was filled with the roar of airplanes flying around the skyscraper menaced by the portrait

In the meantime, a platoon of sappers,

Before I left the building an hour later the carpenters had already covered the mural, as though they feared that the entire city, with its banks and stock exchanges, its great buildings and millionaire residences, would be destroyed utterly by the mere presence of an image of Vladimir Ilyitch...

The proletariat reacted rapidly. Half an hour after we had evacuated the fort, a demonstration composed of the most belligerent section of the city's workers arrived before the scene of the battle. At once the mounted police made a show of their heroic and incomparable prowess, charging upon the demonstrators and injuring the back of a seven year old girl with a brutal blow of a club. Thus was won the glorious victory of Capital against the portrait of Lenin

But it was not over yet. If it is true

that it is highly improbable that many of the seven million inhabitants of New York City would have seen the dangerous painting, on the other hand. thanks to the valiant attack of capitalism against the mural, the press, the radio, the movies, all of the modern mediums of publicity, reported the event in the greatest detail over the entire territory of the country peopled by 125,000,000people. Tens of millions of people were informed that the nation's richest man had ordered the veiling of the portrait of an individual named Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, because a painter had represented him in a fresco as the Leader, guiding the exploited masses towards a new social order based on the suppression of classes, on organization, love and peace among human beings, in contrast to the war, unemployment, starvation, and degeneration of capitalist disorder.



SOL SALBY

There are currently six million refugees in India. The conditions they live under are most appalling. Vultures circle above shown that it is much more interested in camps where both starvation and cholera are rife. At the same time more Bengalis Cholera. It took eight days to get the manage to slip past border patrols into India. The only reason these people face the risks is the prospect of genocide in Bangla Desh. According to Anthony Mascarenhas, assistant editor of the Kara- told by the government to "shut up"! chi Moming News, the death toll could be as high as 100,000," the West Pakistan Army has not merely been killing Bangla Desh supporters. It has deliberately been massacring others."... "Entire villages have been burnt out as a part of the army's scorched earth policy in East Pakistan. "Mascarenhas was repeatedly told by senior military and civil officials in Dacca and Commillia that the army was determined to cleanse Pakistan once and for all of the threat of secession even if it means the killing of two million people". (Sunday Times 13.6.71). Apparently the "Final Solution" consists of deportation of Hindus, elimination of all intellectuals and other possible leaders of revolutionary upsurge, systematic sacking of those who are less dangerous and even kidnapping of many young

ing to "Four Comers" reporter Peter Reid). Meantime the Australian Government has saving Asians from "Communism" than vaccine to India. The director of the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories, Dr. W.R. Lane, who criticised, the delay was

The delay was explained to result from the Non-urgency of the situation. The vaccine itself was distributed within ten minutes of arrival. The real cause for the delay was the saving incurred in hiring a Qantas plane over An RAAF freighter. The mere 500,000 dollars given initially and the refusal to make gifts to the refugees tax deductible show a general course of reluctance on the part of the government. The Australian ruling class didn't give much consideration to the fact that Pakistan is a member of the Commonwealth or even its official ally in SEATO. Far more important are such things as trade relations-Pakistan does buy Australian wheat. The Australian government can't afford to offend any potential customers particularly when they are friendly, pro-imperialwomen by West-Pakistani troops (accord- ist dictators. Any thing which could be interpreted as support to Bangla Desh is

against the interest of imperialism in the area.. As in Indo-China the Australian government is going to back the most reactionary dictators to put down revolutionary movements.

and other imperialist powers to stop the killing has never been questioned. The Pakistani economy is in such a mess, that cutting off the aid to Yahya will render his government useless within a few weeks. As things stand now the aid looks like being cut off. According to the London "Guardian" of the 18.6.71 the decision will be formally made known in July. Public opinion at home will not allow Nixon to support another dictator fighting a war in Asia.

While Western governments ponder the consequences of their actions other people had their minds made up. On one hand was the Chinese government whose backing of the Pakistani dictator has been of long standing. (See "Direct Action" May 1971). On the other hand were the private relief organisations like Austcare and Oxfam.

Chairman Mao seems to be Yahya's last friend. While the Bengalis are being

killed off, China is providing military and other aid to Pakistan. The "Australian" reported on the 16th of June that a new loan of 63 million dollars was given by Peking. Peking review gave its interpretation of the most newsworthy was the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the peoples Republic of China and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The The ability of the Australian Government Chinese foreign Ministry gave a banquet on the evening of May 21 to celebrate this day of significance in the annals of

relations between China and Pakistan.

treacherous alliance since the Stalin-Hitler pact it can only be explained by Mao's preference for relationshipswith Imperialism will justify this crime. (Those"Marxist-Leninists'who use the term are referred to Imperialism-The a good definition of Imperialism.)

ions like Austcare was more than expected by anyone. Marxists have always maintained the view that these organisal ions and similar ones like Community Aid Abroad or Freedom From Hunger Campaign should have no role to play for two reasons. Firstly aid is the Job of the state which can finance it and secondly poor states can't develop economically as long as imperialism keep them down. Only a socialist revolution in the Third World and the Advanced Capitalist countries can help them. This certainly remains true. The difference between the amount given by the govern

The revolutionary potential of Bangla Desh is the key to understanding not only the Indian government. An independent East Bengal could lead to an upsurge in West Bengal and other parts of India. Thats the reason Mrs. Ghandi prefers to sit on the sideline and hope for victory of the Awami League rather then a revolution. Such a victory is not forthcoming. The struggle for Bangla Desh is going to be a long one.

THE N.S.W. A.L.P. CONGRESS THE SOCIALIST LEFT IS BORN IAN MACDOUGALL

We live in a period of rapidly growing crisis of imperialism and bourgeois ideology, which has brought with it a similar crisis of reformism and parliamentarism.

It is no surprise that in the period of Viet- been a steady influx of young, generally nam, galloping inflation, deteriorating quality of life and mass radicalisation of youth there should be dramatic: changes in the labour movement; the growth of the left in the trade unions, working class militancy on the rise, and the development of a socialist left of a new character in the ALP.

Five years ago Whitlam was proclaiming that if he was elected the troops would stay in Vietnam and that in modern conditions the election of a labour government would mean mainly the appointment of a new set of personalities to run the country- that the difference between the ALP and thd Liberal Party was mainly in the administrative competence of their respective leaderships.

Now, he goes along with the Vietnam withdrawal policy, and siezes on every opportunity to capitalize on government embarrassment such as in the current furore over the original reasons for the Vietnam committment, and its inability to control the deteriorating social conditions and quality of life, its crisis of China policy etc.

Even the Whitlamite journal of the NSW ALP has appeared in new dress under the appealing title of 'The Radical' (thinks: that should sell a few to the demonstrators) The old dreary contents are tarted up with a new with-it'image'. (Of course, scratch the new Whitlam and you'll find the old. Let the crisis end all over the world tomorrow and he'll revert to his 1950's style quicker than you can say"take me to Mao Tse Tung")

None the less, Whitlam is a very skilled

politician and a good political barometer. But such are the conditions today that his intervention in Victoria, carried out by the Federal Executive, which he and his fellow right-wingers expected would clean up'the nasty vote-losing leftist image of the Victoria branch, resulted in a backfire. The main effect a is to cause the left to reorganize into a ver, democratic yet well-disciplined machine-the Socialist Left, and the opportunists of the centre to lose their organized weight in a general competitive scramble for the plums of office. The right remained inconsequential, with a mere 18% of the vote at the Victorian conference last May. This put George Crawford back as Victorian Chairman, Bill Hartley in as delegate to Federal Executive, and won the Socialist Left three of the six delegateships to Federal Conference. The Socialist Left polled a very healthy 39% of the total conference vote- disastrous for the Whitlamites and opportunist centre under the proportional representation system.

The intervention in NSW did not result in a victory for the steering committee left as its leaders had hoped, but it changed the numbers in the apparatus and at Fedal representation.

This means that the logical next step for Whitlam is Federal intervention in the Queensland Branch in an attempt to increase the numbers at Federal Conference eral Secretary, Westerway(right)540, for the right wing.

In NSW the left wing up to now has been dominated by a fossilised self-appointed leadership of trade union officials(the aforesaid 'Steering Committee') Its aim in life has been to increase its strength on right wing candidate indicates the presence the NSW Executive through deals with the of a larger centre than at previous confright wing (which was never interested) and by appeals to the predominantly right wing annual conference to elect a balanc- left in the last year, notably the AWU and ed executive. Over the years since the 1955 split its strength has steadily waned, with a slight change in its favour coming

in the last two years. Its former supporters have been steadily demoralised by this strategy over the years.

However, in the last three years there has left-inclined people into the party- and indeed the electoral support for the ALP among younger people has grown dramatically in the same period. The young leftists have been predominantly critical of the Steering Committee with its plodding, routine numbers game and wheelerdealing, bureaucratic mentality.

The showdown came on Friday May 28 when a mass meeting of the leftwing in the lower Town Hall split 130-103in favour

Childs (Steering Committee) 306, Wise (Socialist Left)123. Thus the SL got about the party, with the SL- given the current 29% of the maximum left wing vote.

This was sufficient to get two of its mem- both have a much stronger ideological elected as Federal Conference delegate and Administrative Committee members respectively.

The Socialist Left, during the congress stressed the need for the ALP to meet the growing crisis in Australia with a reaffirmed and strengthened socialist platform.

It was refreshing, also, to hear delegates use the word 'revolution' without imply-

bers-Bob Gould and George Petersen MLA base than the centre group, which operates on expediency, pragmatism and opportunism." (Action, May 1971) This outlook is reasonable if labor govern ments do not bring with them an influx of fortune-hunters into the party. It

will have the highest turnover of membering bloodshed and mass misery. (The ALP In Victoria the SL has a mass base in the unions and the branches- thanks to the different history of that state and the splitting out of the old right into the DLP. And it has, by pledging ALP support to the Moratorium (which the right in NSW won't do, excusing themselves on the grounds that they can't control the Moratorium been the outstanding factor in

could well be, however, that the centre

This task is particularly vital in NSW, the home base of Whitlamism, as it is here that the socialist left has the greatest potential effect on the party. It is in NSW also (as compared to Victoria) that its

mass base is weakest. Here it has the

the left wing union component of the ALP,

those of an existing alternative left faction

with much stronger principles. Its policies

it now has to justify its policies against

of compromise and capitulation to the

right wing all along the line have little

radical students and workers, and the

perspective the SL in Victoria sees will

"It would be reasonable to assume that

within a few years the SL and the right

political trends- the dominant section.

These groups, poles apart politically,

will remain the two main factions within

future among the growing army of young

While the S.C. composes most, of

support of very few unions.

probaby also apply in NSW:

the growth of the largest anti-war movement in the country's history. By encouraging this and other forms of extra-parliamentary politics the socialist left in Victoria is insuring against the day that the parliamentary leadership of the party betrays the labour movement and leaves it with no recognizable leadership. Needless to say, these policies of Hartley, Crawford and Co in Victoria give the bourgeoisie a bit of a loose-bowelled feeling(read the bourgeois press).

The task of the socialist left in NSW must be to influence the young (mainly leftist) people coming into the party thanks to party policy on Vietnam and conscription particularly. But it must, unlike the Steering Committee, orient itself towards those people who are at this moment outside the ALP, and attempt to recruit into its faction of the party from the new generation of young radicals emerging in the anti-war movement. In order to do this it must continue to draw, as openly and publicly as possible, a sharp line of demarcation between itself and the opportunist parliamentary leaders.

The SL also needs to build a mass base in the branches, and to do this by radicalising as many branches as possible, involving them as independent political units intheir own right rather than coasting along with them in their present roles as suppliers of hack workers at polling booths. The SL must on no account go to sleep as the Steering Committee did, in the periods between congresses.

That branch members feel increasingly dissatisfied with their lack of real influence in the party was testified to by Federal Secretary Mick Young, who claimed that it was for this reason that the Federal Executive changed the rules in NSW and Victoria. Even the right the ALP to develop extra-parliamentary wing machine in NSW must be concerned action and not rely on labour governments at the way the alienated branches are declining in membership.

reference was made to the last NSW gov- Every socialist who wants to create the maximum political effect of the left in Australia should:

> a) support the Socialist Left in the branches of the ALP and in his/her union b) reject all compromises with social-

ist principles in the labour movement. c) prepare for the inevitable crisis of speech against reaffirmation of the social- parliamentary reformism by developing extra-parliamentary ALP action, around the Moratorium etc

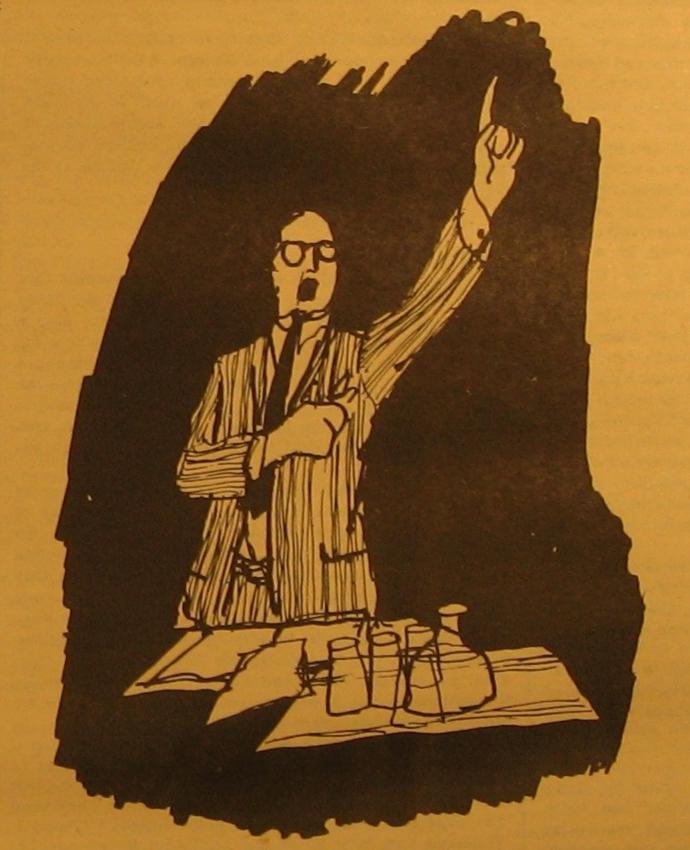
> Footnote: Subscribe to the Socialist Left papers- openly published as ALP factional organs. Keep Left (NSW) PO Box A484 Sydney South NSW, 2000 Published monthly-

\$1.50 per year. Action (Vic.) ISOC Publishers & Co, PO Box 189 Carlton South, Vic. 3053 Published formightly- \$2.50 per year.

item concerning Pakistan. : May 21, 1971

Probably the most the national Bourgeoisie. It is the word example of Stalinist betrayal in our times No amount of talk about danger of Indian Highest Stage of Capitalism by Lenin for The response to the appeal of organisat-

ment and that raised privately proves if At the same time, the revolutionary position of the refugees shouldn't be forgotten. They are Bangla Desh's future freedom fighters.



of Steering Committee control of the left wing ticket to be run at the congress. The minority of 103 decided to run its own ticket in any case, and went on to do so under the name Socialist Left -inspired by Victoria.

Analysis of the voting strengths of the Right, Steering Committee and Socialist eral Conference, again due to proportion- Left tickets at the congress shows that the SI has a good base to build on (after all, the majority of SL supporters were not delegates and did not get a vote.)

> Here are some relevant figures: For Gen-Ibbet(left)384 (This 384 can be taken as an approximate measure of the total left vote, assuming Westerway's very high vote to be due to strong centre support.) VicePresidents:Heffernan(left) 463, French (right) 462 (This swing away from the erences due to increased branch representation, since theunions have moved to the South Coast Ironworkers. Also some right wingers voted for Heffernan. Assistant General Secretaries Cahill(right) 492

on just one issue. What of the future? If only because the ALP is the recognised political leadership of half this country's population, it is an essential task of all socialists to strengthen the socialist left inside it, by supporting 32 policies in the ALP branches and affiliated trade unions.

ration act.)

being opposed to revolution officially:

that is what the rule book says revolution

brings) SL delegates also emphasised the

-which after all had betrayed the move-

ment treacherously in the past(particular

ernment which persistently refused to re-

peal the penal clauses of the NSW Arbit-

We even had the amusing, but confusing

essential petit bourgeois PR man remind-

ist objective) that Lenin called the ALP

in 1913 a petit bourgeois party. Some-

try to appear on the left of Lenin, even

thing's wrong somewhere when reformists

situation of Peter Westerway, the quint-

ing the delegates (in an aside during a

need, as the Victorian SL has done, for

East Bengali refugees who fell victim to West Pakistani flamethrowers while asleep in Dacca.

U.S. imperalisms drive for continual expansion

The following article was published as an educational supplement to issue No. 2, 1971, of the Swedish revolutionary-socialist monthly Mullvaden (Mole). The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

By Ernest Mandel

American imperialism began to show its face in Latin America early in the nineteenth century and later in the Pacific area (expansion into the Japanese sphere and the conquest of the Philippines). Since the opening of the first world war, American imperialism has spread out to encircle the entire world. In the competition among the imperialist powers, American imperialism emerged as the victor in the two imperialist world conflicts.

In fact, American imperialism was the only victor that was strengthened militarily and economically by these wars. All its most important competitors were weakened by one or both of these conflicts.

There is no need to go into detail on the causes of American imperialism's superiority over its competitors. The primary reasons are well known—enormous natural resources, a better balance between industry and agriculture, and a larger territorial and demographic base, which made it possible to take advantage of industrial mass production, wipe out all semifeudal vestiges, and permit the development of a purer form of capitalism than in the other imperialist states, and so forth.

It must be stressed, however, that American imperialism's rise to the place of leading power on the planet has been a dialectical process involving sharpening contradictions throughout the rest of the world as well as in American society itself. The American imperialist bourgeoisie has been unable to take part in the race for world domination without assuring its leadership of the capitalist world. In this it has been confronted with ever more powerful anticapitalist forces.

As a result, the decisions of American imperialism are often guided by the political necessity to defend the capitalist system on a worldwide scale. This need may conflict with its own particular interests. It is in this light that the Marshall Plan must be seen. Far from being an attempt to bring the European economy under Washington's control, it was, in historical perspective, the first phase in rebuilding West European imperialism as an independent force, more precisely a force with the capacity to compete with the USA. This decision, however, was not an irrational one.

Washington was faced with a choice between two evils after the second world war. It had either to help bring about the collapse of West European capitalism or permit a powerful competitor to recover. American imperialism chose the lesser evil, from its standpoint.

These introductory remarks are essential to avoid falling into economism or making an oversimplified analysis of the economic roots of American imperialism.

Surplus capital

American imperialism is still rooted primarily in the economic phenomenon which Lenin defined and which continues in force for the entire imperialist epoch—the existence of surplus capital in the imperialist countries spreading out over the globe in search of superprofits.

The only modification that need be made in Lenin's definition is that, since the second world war, this surplus capital is no longer solely, or even primarily, flowing toward the colonial or semicolonial "underdeveloped" countries, but also, to an increasing extent, toward other industrially developed imperialist countries.

This important difference with respect to the imperialism of Lenin's day can be explained by the following factors:

1. The important differentials in technology and labor productivity between American imperialism and the other imperialist powers.

2. The difference in military and political power between the USA and the other imperialist states, a difference more pronounced than that in the economic sphere.

3. The increasing insecurity of investments in the colonial and semicolonial countries, where the revolutionary liberation movements have been on the advance.

4. The reduced geographical area in which invested surplus capital can still produce profits, owing to the overthrow of capitalism in large sections of the world.

The end result of these uneven tendencies is that the differences between the rate of profit in the USA and what American capital can get in other countries (by exploiting its technological advantages and thereby assuring important surplus profits) is sufficiently large to make ex-

porting capital to other imperialist countries considerably more enticing than investing in underdeveloped courtries, where the greater risks detract from the lure of higher rates of profit.

At the same time that American capital is gradually finding new outlets in the world, 2 the differences in labor productivity and technical development between the USA and the other imperialist countries are evening out. This process is reducing the profit-rate differentials between these countries and once again making the underdeveloped nations the only area that can absorb large surplus profits. A relaxation in the tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union may open up possibilities (however modest) for investment of American capital in countries with a socialist economic base, in the same way as FIAT and Renault have already done in the automotive industry.

But all the possibilities for investment cannot alter the basic fact that, for the past twenty-five years, the major part of American capital exports has been invested in other imperialist countries rather than in the rest of the world

It must be remembered that these exports of capital correspond to an economic need inherent in the monopoly capitalist system. They are a response to a two-sided threat of a decline in the average rate of profit in the main fortresses of imperialism and a massive accumulation of capital that cannot be invested in these centers without threatening to bring about a grave new decline in the average rate of profit.

Arms investment

The accumulation of an increasing capital surplus that can no longer be invested profitably in any of the usual economic sectors promotes not only exports but also a rush for new areas of investment in sectors where the average rate of profit is comparable to that in monopolized sectors but where investment does not threaten the profit rate throughout the entire system. Arms production (and its carry-over into the space sector) offers an area for "substitute investment," to use Rosa Luxemburg's expression.

The advantages that flow from investments in the arms industry are obvious. They do not reduce the volume of capital already invested in other sectors of industry. To the contrary, they stimulate heavy industrial production and the supply of certain raw materials. Nor do they compete with existing commodity production but create products whose only buyer is the state and whose only "consumption" value is to strengthen U.S. imperialism internationally. Such investments also offer other marginal advantages which cannot be overlooked. They make it possible to put a damper on cyclical fluctuations by stabilizing an important part of investment volume. In this way, the American economy is protected against a crisis like that of 1929 (although the development of periodic recessions cannot be prevented, which in the last analysis are no less serious than the crises capitalism has experienced throughout its entire history). These investments guarantee automatic profits for the monopolies in an increasing number of sectors, all linked to defense.

The increasing importance of the war industry in the American economy can be seen first of all in its growing influence in sectors like the electronic, airplane, and chemical industries. This results in a twofold interrelationship that stimulates the expansion of American imperialist capital.

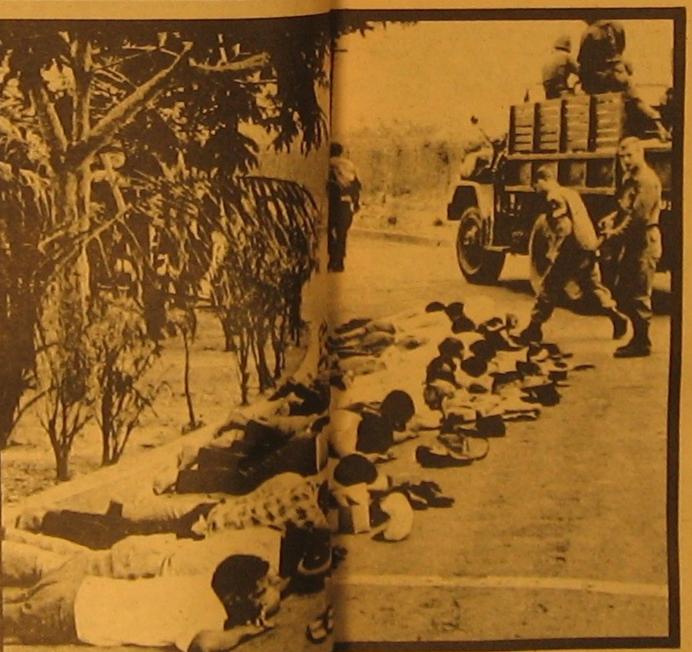
1. The linking up of certain monopolies with war matériel production makes military industry and its extension into other fields a vital matter.

2. The link between certain high posts in the armed forces and the government apparatus creates a vital interest in maintaining the defense budget at an astronomical level and raising it still higher.

This twofold symbiosis is all the more dangerous in that it has a tendency to reproduce itself in foreign countries as a result of the construction of American bases abroad and the sending of military "aid" and advisers to "friendly" governments threatened by "subversion from within" or "Communist aggression from without."

Even former President Eisenhower, conservative as he was, expressed concern at the end of his term over the enormous growth of the industrial, military, and political establishment. This establishment lives and flourishes essentially from increasing defense expenditures, and needs international conflicts to justify this growth to the American taxpayers.





U.S. soldiers guarding Dominican els during 1965 U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo.

Emest Mandel is one of today's main exponents of the political economy of socialism. A Belgian, Mandel was barred from entering Australia last year. He has also been barred from entering the United States. Recently a U.S. Federal Court declared invalid the act under which he was barred.

It would be no less stupid to see the important role that the arms industry plays in the American economy as the sole result of maneuvers by this Mafia within the American bourgeoisie. The entire capitalist class is compelled to carry on a permanent arms policy, since it is confronted by the permanent revolution on a world scale and by the industrial and military development of countries that have already abolished capitalism. The aim of the arms reduction conference is not disarmament but an attempt to rationalize the arms race so that it can be supported by the U.S. and Soviet defense budgets, which, despite everything, are not unlimited.

In a world divided into two hostile camps, real disarmament is completely utopian. Still more utopian is the idea that monopoly capitalism can reallocate the sixteen to seventeen billion dollars it spends annually on arms to the public sectors of education, health, and aid to the underdeveloped countries. Such a reallocation would require that the bourgeoisie change from a class driven by the profit motive to a class working for the good of humanity. Any great spread of capital outside the arms sector would quickly threaten "civilian" capital investments and thus the rate of profit. No such thing will ever happen.

Raw materials

In contrast to most of its competitors, American imperialism was characterized by the fact that it had access within its borders to the basic raw materials that are necessary for modern industry. Even in the years immediately following the first world war, raw material imports were of secondary importance and could easily be replaced with synthetics.

The enormous expansion of American industrial production at the end of the second world war changed this situation, however. Today the USA must import ever increasing quantities of raw materials, including such basic items as oil, iron ore, bauxite, copper, magnesium, and nickel. What is more, the available sources of such materials in the U.S.'s own borders are rapidly decreasing. With regard to oil, reserves will be exhausted at the end of the century. The USA depends entirely on imports for chromium, cobalt, and columbium, which are essential to steel production.

In other words, now, seventy-five years later than its most important competitors, the USA must go out into the world to look for new sources of raw materials—oil in Latin America, the Near East, and West Africa; other minerals in Canada, Australia, Africa, and elsewhere. In this search it is colliding not only with the liberation movements in various colonial and semicolonial countries, but must also compete with other imperialist nations such as England, Japan, France, West Germany, and in fact even Spain.

To seize and control these resources has often involved political conflicts, with resulting coups d'etat and local wars (especially in West Africa over the last five years). This can lead to sending military advisers and to de facto development of American bases. The need for new sources of raw materials explains the vigor with which American imperialism clings to countries like Venezuela and Brazil. They have been indispensable suppliers of raw materials for the big American financial interests. 3

Despite the fact that American capital exports to the underdeveloped countries have been less extensive than its exports to other imperialist countries, they have not been insignificant. In the cases of important countries like Indonesia and Brazil or other countries with great, almost untouched resources like the Congo, American capital exports have resulted in increasing interference by American imperialism in the affairs of these semicolonial countries. Conflicts have arisen with other imperialist powers, especially the old colonial powers that American imperialism is gradually displacing.

The most typical examples of the way American capital has taken over in the past twenty years from earlier colonial capital are to be seen in Indonesia (where it took the place of Dutch capital), Morocco (French capital), and Iran (English capital).

In the Congo we can clearly see the beginning of a similar change, in this case involving Belgian capital, even if for the moment this is better reflected in the reven orientation of foreign trade than in capital investments.

This whole imperialist changing of the guard has not been achieved simply by behind-the-scenes maneuvers but has led to acute national and international conflicts, most often accompanied by bloodbaths. From the overthrow of Mossadegh up to the murder of Ben Barka and the imposition of Mobutu by a coup d'etat, the roadway has

been lined with murders, conspiracies, and repression costing hundreds of thousands of lives.

'American century'

To climax everything, American imperialism has not achieved world domination. The dream of an "American century" lasted only five years—from 1945 to 1950. It was shattered not only by the increasing strength of the anticapitalist forces on the international scale, but also by the law of uneven development which the capitalist world center has inexorably had to bow to, since that permits no new position to be held forever. In comparison with the period 1945-50, the positions of American imperialism's most important competitors (with the exception of England) have grown stronger, not weaker, vis-à-vis the USA.

The competition among the imperialist countries is more acute than previously. We have not seen any superimperialism develop, but rather a continuing struggle among the imperialist countries, each trying to shift the balance of power in its favor. This competition among the imperialist powers is taking place, however, within the framework of the new worldwide relationship of forces. Capital has lost a third of the world, and the continual expansion of new revolutionary movements threatens to release new countries from its grip.

Under these conditions, interimperialist competition has come to be replaced by interimperialist solidarity in confronting the mortal threat that hangs over the entire system. Stalin's hope for a new interimperialist war has come to nought, if you disregard local conflicts between imperialist puppets in Africa, Cyprus, and elsewhere.

One of the economic bases of American imperialism is defense of the conditions for the reproduction of invested U.S. capital when these seem to deteriorate or be threatened. This precisely was the meaning of the coup d'etat in Guatemala, which defended United Fruit's investments. It was Creole Petroleum's investments that were protected by military men sent to Venezuela; and the CIA was involved in the military coup in Brazil to safeguard the United States Steel Corporation's investments. The same sort of intervention in Greece enabled America's Litton Industries to make big capital investments under extremely favorable conditions.

It is wrong, however, to look at the imperialist interventions in too narrow a focus, that is, only as defending invested capital.

It is also a question of safeguarding future possibilities and averting the danger of a chain reaction, with an "unstable situation" in one country spreading to the surrounding states. Thus, for example, direct American capital investment in South Vietnam is very modest. The investments in Thailand are, however, more significant; and those in Malaysia, Indonesia, and India are considerably greater.

By intervening with a counterrevolutionary aggression in the civil war in Vietnam, American imperialism is protecting the capitalist strongholds in the neighboring countries and trying to safeguard its future possibilities in Southeast Asia. Today the American strategy must inevitably be a global one. The fight in defense of capital is not necessarily waged where this capital is invested. The battle may be fought in other countries where the loss of imperialism's advanced positions could represent a dangerous threat to the areas further back.

An analysis of the economic forces that have determined the development of American imperialism can lead only to a conclusion that, in order to be effective, the anticapitalist forces must meet the international counterrevolutionary strategy of big capital with a corresponding worldwide strategy.

1. A study by a Chicago consultants' firm in 1960 revealed that the thirty-five biggest American trusts had a net profit of 9.2 percent in the USA and 14.2 percent abroad (corporate profits after taxes). The January 1, 1962, issue of the U.S. News and World Report and the March 8, 1965, issue of Newsweek came to similar conclusions.

2. Direct American corporate investments rose from \$7.2 billion in 1946 to \$40.6 billion in 1963 and \$54.4 billion in 1966.

3. According to Harry Magdoff, American imports of certain raw materials have been increasing to the following extent, calculated as a percentage of U.S. production.

	% in 1937	19
Iron Ore	3	
Copper	-13	
Lead	0	1
Zinc	7	1
Bauxite	113	6
Oil	4	

THE WORLD REVOLUTION TODAY

This is the International document adopted by the 2nd National Conference of S.Y.A. in Easter this year. It was of Melbourne, on behalf of the National Executive.

MANY FRONTS, ONE FIGHT

Revolutionary socialists do not consider all the various acts of rebellion and insurrection in the world to be a series of isolated events unconnected to each other. On the contrary, they are interrelated and interconnected and in their totality they constitute the world revolution. No single aspect of revolution can be considered in national isolation. but only as a part of this international totality.

One can distinguish three sectors of the world revolution- the political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated workers' states, the colonial revolution and the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries.

For two decades before 1968, the centre of gravity of the world revolution shifted towards the colonial and semi-colonial countries, the 1949 victory of the Chinese revolution coinciding with the defeat of the post-war revolutionary wave in Western Europe, and the rise of McCarthyism in the United States.

Today, this situation is changing. The May, 1968 revolutionary upsurge in France heralded a resurgence of the reolution in the imperialist countries. Furthermore, the Polish events of December 1970 marked a new stage in the antibureaucratic struggle in the degenerated workers' states.

After the 1959 victory of the Cuban revolution, the colonial revolution suffered a series of reverses the fall of Lumumba in the Congo, the counter-revolutionary massacre in Indonesia etc.) Whatever the specific reasons for these setbacks, there are two general causes. On the one hand, the ability of the colonial bourgeois of the mass of humanity for a better and petty-bourgeois nationalist regimes (Nasser, Sukamo etc) to lead the antiimperialist struggle has ended. On the other hand, imperialism (principally US imperialism) had launched an offensive against revolutionary movements, even against movements which merely threatened to initiate the process of permanent revolution. The formation of Marxist revolutionary vanguards was not rapid enough to defeat this offensive.

A period of economic growth in America coincided with this stage of more direct and overt counter-revolutionary activity, and provided the means to conduct it without opening an assault on the living standards of the American workers.

The Vietnamese war was the high-point of this imperialist offensive. It was also the turning point. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese masses weakened im-

perialism, and the colonial revolution began to advance in other sectors. It contributed to the upsurge of the revolution in the imperialist countries, and presented to the conference by Dave Holmes contributed, on the subjective level, to the development of the anti-bureaucratic struggle in Eastern Europe.

> American imperialism's escalation of its war of aggression in Vietnam had two objectives. First, it wanted to block the advance of revolution in an economically and strategically important region. Secondly, it wanted, by the terror of the example, to deter revolutionary movements everywhere.

The resistance of the Vietnamese people has prevented imperialism's success. They have thwarted the aggressors despite the inadequate aid from the workers' states, despite the increasing pressure from the Kremlin and its agents to be less uncompromising; despite the inadequacy of the international solidarity and antiwar movements.

The dilemma of American imperialism is this: If they continue the war in Vietnam they will promote the liberation struggle in that country and the neighbouring countries, where it intervenes, and also intensify the US domestic crisis. If they retreat, the Vietnamese revolution will win and liberation movements everywhere will draw the inevitable lessons.

There are three main historical reasons for the failure of the attempt by American imperialism to force back the colonial revolution. Firstly, imperialism is historically incapable of stabilizing the situation in the colonial and semi-colonial ntries anymore. For example, in Indonesia, despite the massacre of some 300,000 of the vanguard and its following by imperialism and its reactionary allies, the mass movement is again developing, can only but develop, especially among the youth. Secondly, the advance of the colonial revolution sparks off contradictions in the imperialist countries, themselves. In particular, it is sufficient to point out the well-known effects of the Vietnam war on the US struggles. Finally, not even the wealth of American imperialism is sufficient to suppress the strivings world. And the persistance of inter- imperialist rivalries prevents any absolute unity of imperialism against the world

Essentially, this means that the global balance of forces is too unfavourable for imperialism to be able to reverse the trend on its periphery. The defeat imperialism has suffered on its periphery, principally in Vietnam, has contributed to the revolutionary upsurge in the imperialist centres.

Objectively, the advance of the colonial revolution, and the Vietnam war in particular, has deepened the crisis of imperialism. It has accelerated inflation and sharpened inter-imperialist rivalries. This has led to a draining of their reserves their counter- revolutionary strategy. making a policy of concessions to the working class less and less feasible. This intensifies the class struggle in the im-

perialist centres. This profoundly alters the relationship between the various sectors of the world revolution. Imperialism may be forced to redistribute its forces and thus reduce its pressure on the colonial revolution, thereby stimulating fresh victories there.

Also, this new stage in these two sectors of the world revolution coincide with an upsurge of the anti-bureaucratic struggle in the degenerated workers' states, particularly in Poland. On the subjective level, the resistance of the Vietnamese revolution has influenced the formation and development of the new youth vanguards in these states.

THE COLONIAL REVOLUTION

The upsurge in the colonial revolution after World War 11 led to important victories. However, as we have explained, the sixties were marked by a series of reverses at the hands of the imperialist counter-offensive. The Vietnamese war marks the high point and turning point of this offensive.

The balance of forces is changing against imperialism, and it can no longer stabilize the situation on its periphery. Even its greatest victory- the massacre of the Indonesian left in 1965 has failed to halt the mobilization of the masses. The colonial masses have no other road but

The two most important centres of the colonial revolution today are Vietnam and the Middle East. The struggle for national liberation in the colonial world follows the logic of the permanent revolution. In the West, the bourgeoisie played a progressive role in the period of the establishment of the capitalist mode of production. They led the struggle for national independence and political democracy, against feudalism. However, the colonial bourgeoisie cannot play a similar role in their countries. The reason Imperialism, shaken by the struggles of is that in the colonial world the achievement of 'bourgeois-democratic' tasks such as national independence and agrarian reform means a struggle against imperialism, and imperialism completely dominates the native bourgeoisies. Hence, creature' and in the Rogers plan. The the only forces capable of leading the national liberation struggles are the revolutionary forces. Furthermore, for the struggle to be successful, it must surpass its 'bourgeois democratic' stage and go on Israel. to socialist revolution- the fate of the petty-bourgeois regimes shows that half measures must succumb to imperialism.

April 24 antiwar demonstration in San Francisco

American imperialism took over from French imperialism the task of suppressing the national liberation struggle in Vietnam. When its creature Diem and his successors proved unable to fulfill this, they intervened in force (1965) deploying an expeditionary force of over half a million troops Vietnam was seen as a testing ground for Six years later their position is still desperate. We have explained the historical significance of this failure of imperialism

and the immense contribution the Vietnamese people have made to the world revolution.

National revolution in Vietnam today will mean socialist revolution and the taking of Vietnam out of the imperialist system. This will strengthen socialist revolutionary forces in the neighbouring countries- this is the truth in the 'Domin's Theory' of imperialist statesmen.

The committment of troops by the Australian bourgeoisie is a polluca seem their military value being negligible. This committment constitutes an import. ant gesture of political solidarity for American imperialism. The best, most concrete way in which Australian revolutionaries can defend the Vietnam revolution is to force the withdrawal of they troops. Our responsibility becomes gave than ever in the light of the recent escalation of the war and the possibility of a further escalation involving nuclear weap ons and an invasion of the DRV.

THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

The emergence of a revolutionary Palestinian resistance has raised the Arab revolution to a new level. Since the 1967 victory of the Zionists in the Six-Day war, the Palestinians have emerged despite weaknesses of leadership, as the central force of the Arab revolution. A the petty-bourgeois regimes have been superseded. Their inability to lead the anti-imperialist struggle has been demon strated in practice. Their failure to help the Palestinians in any way during the recent bloodbath in Jordan tragically demonstrated this fact.

The key development fostered by the Palestinian resistance has been the increasing mobilisation of the Arab masses and the emergence of a genuine Arab vanguard which, though small, is grown

the Vietnamese revolution, urgently requires a solution to the Middle East proolem. The twin poles of this solution it hopes to find in the counter-revolutions bloodbath organized by its'Hashemite resistance has held on despite the desent of its 'friends' in its hour of trial. The Rogers plan has received the backing Egypt and the Soviet Union as well as

The recent events in Jordan demonstrate again that the solution of the Palexinia problem can only be a part of the Arab revolution as a whole, that the pro-in perialist regimes of the Arabs are as n the enemy of the Arab masses as is the Zionist state. Further more, revolution socialists stress that Zionism, rather that the Israeli people is the enemy. The only solution is one which recognizes the right of self-determination, not only of the Palestinian people, but also the Israeli people in a socialist Middle East

After the crushing of the Hungarian reolution in 1956 the crisis of the bureau cratic regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR temporarily levelled off and a per iod of political passivity of the masses set in.

There are several factors responsible los this prolonged political apathy, and the temporary stabilization of the bureaucratic regimes. The late 50's and ear 60's were periods of increase in the liv standards of the masses. This encourage a climate of reformist illusions. The crushing of the Hungarian revolution and the mirage of progressive 'democratizati from above also fostered this climate.

However, the basic underlying cause of this passivity was the loss of confidence the Communist ideal prostituted by the

bureaucracy. In the last years of the 60's discipline in the future. this relative stability has been undermined It is sufficient to mention the 1968 events Finally, the political revolution in China in Czechoslovakia and the December 1970 cannot be separated from the world revevents in Poland to demonstrate this fact. olution. Especially, it cannot be con-Several factors are responsible. There has been a slowdown in economic growth, the European workers' states and in the and the 'economic reforms' have further worsened the position of the masses. There has been a crisis in the relationship dition the struggle in China. between the workers' states and Communist Parties throughout the world. The bureaucracy has failed to put any consistent doctrine in place of classical Stalinism. Finally, the struggle between counter-revolution and revolution in Vietbetween the workers' states and Commnam, and the revolutionary upsurge in Western Europe have played their part in developing and conditioning the new antibureaucratic struggles.

The decline in the rate of economic growth reflects the crisis in bureaucratic economic management. Hypercentralized bureaucratic planning becomes increasingly inadequate as the primary industrialization is achieved and the need is for modernization and consumer goods production. Since workers' democratically centralized self-management is ruled out, the bureaucracy turns to economic reforms ie, . 'automatic' mechanisms to replace the confined supercentralized 'socialist market'.

The increased turn to economic reforms' also reflects the intra-bureaucratic conflict between the 'technocrats' and the Stalinist wing of the political apparatus. . The 'liberals' advocate greater power for plant managers, with respect to the central planners and the workers. Along with increased privileges for themselves, the technocrats advocate a regime of austerity- cutting back on social services. and increasing unemployment.

It is true that 'liberal reforms' create an atmosphere conducive to renewal of proletarian activity. The Czech events of 1968 demonstrated this. However, revolutionary socialists support neither wing of the bureaucracy, but call for political revolution, for socialist democracy based on workers' soviets.

Stalinism in its most extreme form has gone. But while genuine socialist democracy has not been established, the partial de-Stalinisation merely removes some The main motor force of this expansion of the means for repressing dissent, but does not remove the causes for that dissent. Thus the crisis persists.

The 1968 events in Czechoslovakia marked a new stage in the political revolution in Eastern Europe. The working class, which had hitherto stood aside from the struggle between the two wings of the bureaucracy began to mobilize under its own demands. This mobilization, which reached its peak after the August, 1968 invasion, was the greatest proletarian revolutionary mobilization in Eastern Europe since the Hungarian events of

Not only did the workers put forward even more clearly the slogan of 'workers' selfmanagement', but a vanguard tendency began to form within the Communist Party and the main organizations orientated in a revolutionary direction.

The military intervention was eventually to halt these developments, and to extinguish the revolutionary pedagogic example they provided for the people of Eastern Europe, and the USSR itself.

However, the crisis has not been stabilized

A revolutionary vanguard continues to accumulate its forces. The problems of the masses remain. In December, 1970 the Polish workers mobilized against the 'reforms' of the regime. This was the greatest revolutionary upsurge in Poland since October 1956. In Szczecin, for example, 10,000 workers struck, and established a strike committee which ran the town; a workers' militia was also formed. The regime is desperately trying to stabilize the situation, but is unlikely to succeed. We can expect dramatic new developments in the months to come.

Revolutionary socialists characterize China, too, as being a deformed workers' state. However, the dynamics of the political revolution there, follows its own logic. The high point of this struggle so far has been the 'Cultural Revolution'. Beginning as a struggle between two factions of the bureaucracy, it overflowed these bounds and the masses began to act autonomously. The proletariat, special product of China's industrialization, in several places fought under their own demands. For example, in Canton and Shanghai the workers struck for higher wages. Large numbers of youth, the Red Guards, beganto escape from the authoritarian discipline of the regime. Millions of them roamed the countryside. They will be less willing to accept this

sidered in isolation from the struggle in th USSR. A victory for the revolutionary force forces in the USSR would powerfully con-

Proletarian revolution, so long dormant, is again on the agenda in the imperialist mother countries. The revolutionary upsurge in France in May 1968 is the clearest possible expression of this fact. The European socialist revolution, long weighed down by the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International, is now on the advance again. In fact, all the imperialist centres are being shaken by new struggles.

The reciprocal effect of the failure of the imperialist offensive against the colonial revolution, on the imperialist centres has already been pointed out. The advance of the colonial revolution, especially the resistance of the Vietnamese revolution, has contributed to, and deepened the crisis of imperialism, both on its subjective and objective levels.

The new upsurge of the proletarian revolution occurs against the ending of an imperialist boom of unprecedented character. The exceptional character of this boom consisted in the fact that it occurred even though fourteen countries had freed themselves from the imperialist market, and against the decline in the colonial super-profits.

It must be pointed out that this expansion of the imperialist economy, especially in Western Europe, was not due to spontaneous economic forces. On the one hand, it was made possible by the betrayal by the traditional working class leaderships of the post war revolutionary upsurge. On the other hand, it was made possible by massive aid from American imperialism. has been the permanent'technological revolution'. This stems primarily from the huge, sustained levels of state arr aments expenditures. As well as state anti-cyclical measures, the boom has been sustained by a huge expansion in the volume of debt. However, overproduction still exists- it is merely frozen in excess capacity.

However, the efficacy of these motor forces is declining. It is sufficient to say that the enormous productive capacity which has been developed in the imperialist centres still comes into increasing conflict with the needs of capital realization. This increases the already sharp inter- imperialist competition which in turn exacerbates the problem of capacity and falling profit rates.

The sharpening of social contradictions in all the imperialist centres proceeds against the background of the ending of this period of economic expansion. A major feature of this new upsurge in the class struggle is the appearance of international youth vanguards.

The traditional workers' organizations continue their rightward evolution. They have shackled the working class resistance to increased unemployment and the reestablishment of industrial reserve armies.

A vanguard of young students and workers has emerged to the left of the traditional social democratic and stalinist parties.

It is free from the demoralization and scepticism engendered in the previous generation, by successive betrayals and defeats. France in May 1968 demonstrated the tremendous potential of this formation in catalyzing the mobilization of the working class as a whole.

The sources of this movement include the bourgeois university where resistance to bourgeois education has widened to embrace general anti-capitalist perspectives. The Vietnamese revolution has played a profound role in inspiring andeducating this vanguard, both in regard to imperialist democracy's real face and in regard to the progressive pretensions of social democracy and Stalinism.

The key task of this largely student vanguard is to link up with the young workers. This serves as a bridge linking the student revolt with the workers' revolt. Such a link up will accelerate the freeing of the working class from the old bankrupt apparatuses. It will accelerate the formation of a new revolutionary socialist leadership tant rupture with social democratic polof the proletariat.

The developments in the United States, the foremost imperialist centre, hold tremendous possibilities for the world revolution. Here, the formation of a student vanguard proceeds in interaction with the struggle of the oppressed black national minority. This development, with a reawakening of the American proletariat heralds a stormy period to come, in the American class struggle.

The key subjective role of the Vietnam war on the formation of the black and student vanguard are well-known. The Vietnam war, in fuelling the US inflation and sharpening inter- imperialist competition and the imperialist crisis in general of the war. leads to an intensification of the class struggle in the US. The white proletariat is beginning to struggle too, after years of strangulation by its labour apparatus.

The radicalisation in America has not only touched the student youth and the black masses, but has reached into the ranks of women. The emergence of a mass womens' liberation movement is a phenomenon of historic significance for the revolutionary movement. It demonstrates the tremendous force which it is tapping, and the totality of the rupture with the past which it will bring.

The struggle of the black masses in America is a manifestation of a phenomenon present in most of the imperialist centres. This is the struggle of oppressed nationalities for self-determination. These struggles have erupted! with the Quebecois in Canada, with black, red and brown exist in nearly all countries already. peoples in the US and increasingly with the black people in Australia. Revolution ary party is lacking. The May, 1968 ionary socialists support these struggles unconditionally.

The delay of socialist revolution in the imperialist centres has brought about a revival and resurgence of national tendencies in people whose national character market, of world economy, of world was thought to have been supressed for all time by ascendant capitalism. The overwhelming proletarian and sub-prol etarian character of these nationalities adds a powerful dynamic to their struggles and the class struggles in the imperialist countries.

Australia has participated in the imperialist boom and is affected by the international crisis. Its end is hastening. For example, Australia shares in inflation nucleus of this world revolutionary party. common to all the imperialist countries. However, the present expansion in the mining industry is one factor prolonging the boom.

Despite this situation, Australia is experiencing a period of sharp class struggles. It is sufficient to point out that in 1970

the strike level was the highest in the post- war period. A feature of this strike wave is the involvement of white-collar workers in ever- increasing numbers. Airline pilots, nurses and teachers have all been involved in strike action in recent years.

Australian youth have also shared in the worldwide youth radicalization. Here, the Vietnam war has been the pre-eminant factor in this process. Here, too, this radicalization proceeds largely outside the reformist and Communist Party apparatuses. Our existence demonstrates this development.

The reformist ALP still exercises a predominant influence on the working class. However, a significant differentiation is occurring within the ALP, especially in Victoria. Here, a left-wing has emerged, characterised by its insistence on the need for extra-parliamentary action., and on rank and file control of the parliamentary apparatus. This is an impor-

This differentiation is interrelated with a split in the Victorian trade union movement. Here, too, a left block has emerged and has taken a more radical stand on social issues.

Australia is involved in the imperialist intervention in Vietnam. This has led to the development of an anti-war movement of considerable strength. In Melbourne it mobilized 100,000 people in May 1970. This was the greatest political event in Australia for decades. Significant numbers of workers have been involved although the proletariat has been relatively unresponsive to the issue

In the years to come in Australia we can expect dramatic events. The heightening of social tensions has so far occurred in relatively good times. As the international economic crisis deepens we can expect this process to go much further This poses the question of working class

historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership'. This remains true today, in the new period of upsurge of the world revolution. The objective conditions for revolution Only the subjective factor- the revolutionevents in France showed the absolute necessity for a real revolutionary leadership to lead the masses to power.

Imperialism is an international system. It is the highest expression of the world politics. It has adopted a global counter-revolutionary strategy. This places before the revolutionary movement the imperative necessity of building an international revolutionary party. need is all the more pressing in view of the deepening crisis and further degeneration of the Stalinist parties, whether following Moscow or Peking.

The Fourth International, world party of the socialist revolution, will provide the The task of building this international and its national sections remains the key task facing revolutionary socialists today. The Socialist Youth Alliance, while a youth group and not a party, is in political solidarity with the Fourth International, Our whole raison d'etre flows from this perspective.



"Lenin, wake up—they've all gone mad!" Prague students during 1968 Soviet invasion.

RADICALIZATION 2 THE ROLE OF S.Y.A.

This document defines the general orientation and organizational forms of S.Y.A. It was adopted at our 2nd National Conference at Faster. It was mesented to the conference by Jim Percy, Sydney, on behalf of the National Executive. It is a slightly abridged version of the resolution.

ions of the conference. They are all available by writing to S.Y.A. P.O. Box 581, Sydney South. 2000.

THE WORLDWIDE RADICALIZATION

The most important new development in the political arena in the sixties was the development of a new generation of revolutionary youth in all three sectors of the world revolution. The revolutionary potential of these forces is as great or greater than in any preceding period of radical- countries themselves, the upheaval in ization in the advanced capitalist countries France in May 1968 and the uprisings of that has not been so sharply posed since the end of World War II.

In the advanced capitalist countries this However, the economic growth in the utionary currents and the strengthening of the revolutionary forces that are seriously challenging the power of the ruling class in these countries. In the Third World, the new generation of radicalized youth is given fresh impetus in the struggles against imperialist domination. In the workers' states this new generation of youth has been the first to take the road of struggle against the bureaucratic regimes entrenched there, and to demand socialist democracy.

This generation of revolutionary youth has arisen since the revelations by Krushev of the crimes of Stalin in 1956. For many this was the first crack in the Stalinist mythology. The continuing successes of the colonial revolution meant that youth grew up with these revolutionary struggles at the forefront of their consciousness and were inspired by them to challenge the status quo in their own society. The victories of the Algerian revolution and the Cuban revolution were major landmarks in this process, which provoked defence campaigns in the imperialist countries themselves. The work of defending the gains of these revolutions was largely carried out by the

This whole process was brought to a higher stage by the international defence of the Vietnamese revolution. Active campaigns in solidarity with this revolution were started throughout the world, and in the aggressor countries themselves, massive campaigns to force the withdrawal of the imperialist armies were undertaken. The Vietnamese revolution was the culminating point of the colonial revolutions er seeks to inspire defence of the ideals throughout the fifties and the point where the imperialist counter-offensive foundered. Vietnam thus became central to the struggle against imperialism by the Third World as well as the central point of struggle between the new generation of revolutionary youth in the imperialist countries and the ruling classes of these

For revolutionary Marxists an understanding of this new radicalization and an ability to More specifically, the students find themrespond with the correct tactics and organizational forms is essential for the development of the revolutionary movement and the development of the mass revolutionary party which will overcome the central contradictions of our epoch, the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

ROOTS OF THE RADICALIZATION

The economic growth in the advanced capitalist countries during the fifties and sixties has meant that for large numbers of youth, economic insecurity does not hold the same terrors that it did for their parents. Now better paid, better educated, with more leisure time, they are able We have now printed all the main resolut- to rebel against the restrictions and limitations imposed upon them by this society. This rebellion is often expressed by nonconformist attitudes towards dress, drugs religion etc. However this cultural rebellion is often the first stage in the development of political consciousness and activity around directly political questions.

More important than the cultural rebellion has been the radicalization around distinctly political themes. The generation of youth alive today have grown up under the impact of the colonial revolution and the imperialist intervention in the Vietnamese revolution, and the crisis of Stalinism throughout the world. In the imperialist and thus poses a real threat to imperialism blacks in the United States were examples of combativity to be followed by the youth radicals.

radicalization has given rise to new revol- advanced capitalist countries has obscured the fact that on a world scale the gap between the rich and poor nations has steadily widened. In the last thirty years successful revolutions in China, Cuba Korea and Vietnam and the expansion of socialist economic relations in Eastern Europe has meant that the scope of imperialist exploitation has decreased immense- ends. With an approach to politics which ly. The continuing political agitation in the Third World makes these areas unsafe for capital, which means that it must seek new areas for investment in a constantly shrinking field. The competition in advanced capitalist countries for the

world market becomes more intense in this period. Imperialism is forced to attempt to stop the advance of revolution in the Third World because of this, but as a result adds to its problems at home with the further radicalization.

A component part of the youth in general, the students were the first to be affected by by the crisis of bourgeois ideology, which they are called upon to glorify and perpetuate. The bourgeoisie of the period of imperialist decadence is not the creative bourgeoisie that arose to power to accomplish its historic tasks. The values, morals and history of the bourgeoisie can inspire no enthusiasm. The cause of the crisis seems clear- the youth cannot identify its hopes with those of the bourgeoisie, or tie its fate to this moribund class. This is all the more true because the values so much preached by the schools, the academies and the authorities are denied daily by the crimes imperialism commits in its death throws. Losing its morality and ideals, the bourgeoisie has replaced them with advertising slogans. It no longof the rising bourgeoisie ('liberty' and 'equality') but conformity to the robot image of the average consumer, the mediocre bourgeois of the period of decadence. No young generation can identify with this ideology. And more than any other, young people- since they are the heir apparent and the appointed continuers of this tradition- the students experience the crisis of bourgeois ideology very intensely.

selves in the centre of a contradiction which they may strive to surmount but which they can never resolve because it involves the fundamental contradiction in the capitalist mode of production the contradiction between developing the productive forces and maintaining the

relations of production. The same contradiction bears on the universities which are compelled to respond simultaneously to two contradictory demands-1) advancing the productive forces through a general The other set of factors relates to the increase in the level of skills at the price of an increase in the social costs of training; and 2) retaining the productive relationships through fragmentation of knowledge, discriminatory recruitment, and respecting the private profits of the capitalists as individuals. The bourgeoisie, everywhere tries to deal with this contradiction by measures and reforms which themselves are hybrid and contradictory and which perpetuate the institutional crisis and instability of the university.

THE POLITICS OF THE NEW RADICALS

The social origins of many of the new student radicals and their environment (no job discipline, increased leisure time etc) means that they are prone to repeat many of the past mistakes of the labour movement. Since the only examples that The first awakening of the youth is to bethe new student radicals had of political organization were the ossified Stalinist and reformist models, they tended to reject the need for revolutionary organization. 'Participatory democracy' was counterposed to democratic centralism, as it was understood.

Under the influence of the Cuban leaders who emphasised action with often little regard for theory, the students tended to put all emphasis on the revolutionary deed All these factors combine to allow the without conceiving a coherent strategy, or how any particular action might fit into a scheme of achieving revolutionary emphasised individual action, diversions were frequent. The hippies were a phenomena of youth who sought a solution to the system for themselves only.

However, there are many good points about the student radicals that offset these with their traditional Stalinist and relfaults: they are largely concerned with national and international politics. This has been the main thrust of their activity. Minor social issues, while receiving some attention, have not been the central questions around which students have radicalized. This has made it possible for them to raise their political consciousness and understanding of imperialism. Students also, are intent on taking action about political issues. Their activity is of a political nature. The new radicals have an international outlook. The struggle against the Vietnam war has been a key factor in giving youth this outlook In this, the youth vanguard is at least groping towards an understanding of revolutionary theory, though this may be temporarily diverted into the deadends of Maoism or ultraleftism. A large percentage, however, are discovering the historical truth of revolutionary Marxism. This groping towards revolutionary theory by the student vanguard makes it all the more imperative for the revolutionary organization to have a clear perspective for struggle in the student movement.

In analyzing what line we should adopt, it is necessary to note some important changes that have taken place in the universities. Briefly, these changes can be summarised into two categories- the nature of the university and secondly, its relation to society. Universities have become larger. The concentration of students in them now surpasses all but the largest factories. Generally students spend longer in them. The number of graduate courses has increased, allowing for the full development of revolutionaries while they are still at university. Further, although universities retain the dominant characteristic of being institutions of the bourgeoisie, the system of scholarships and the general economic

situation allow for at least some softening in this by the admission of students of working class origin.

society outside, which is more and more dependent on the trained technicians produced by a university. What the polities of such technicians is, holds much importance in the minds of the bourgeoisie. Because of the number of such graduates, degrees do not have the same status as twenty years ago. They are no a guarantee of automatic entry into the establishment. Added to this is the fact that the links between university student and the rest of their generation are stronger because of the higher cultural level generally, and the distinctive style of the 'youth culture' that has emerged. All these factors have combined to give greater social weight than ever before to the student movement.

Added to these factors is the chronic crisis in bourgeois ideology which inspires no enthusiasm in youth today. come aware of the contradictions between the values preached by the bourgeoisie and the crimes of imperialism. Furthermore, students are caught at the centre of the contradictions of this society which demands continually higher educational standards from its technicians but at the same time demands that this intellectual training be applied only to running the system, not questioning its very nature.

student movement to play a temporary role in the class struggle in society. The student movement, in its own struggles inevitably runs up against the fundamental contradictions in society which mean that for success a link-up must be made with movements outside the student milieu. However, here the attraction for student radicals is small. Because a the failure of the workers' movements ormist leaderships, contact cannot imm ediately be made between the student movement and the ongoing struggles in society. Anti-imperialist action is thus usually the immediate cause of further radicalization, and by taking action defending the gains of the colonial revolution, the students can link up as part of the international class struggle against imperialism.

Because of this natural and inevitable link between student struggles and the national and international class struggl our orientation in this sphere must encompass the immediate struggles of the students, yet go beyond this to engage in struggles of broader implication to the working class movement. The concept that has been advanced that encompass these two needs is the strategy of the 'red university'. This means that the university should cease to become a factory producing automata for industry and their ideological supporters in the various spheres of social science, but rather should transform itself into an institution that produces revolutionaries committed to changing society. The all is to turn the bourgeois university into a weapon directed against bourgeois society

"For a university that serves the working people- for a Red University;" With th basic orientation radical students seek to answer the questions: 'What kind of education should students get?" Towards what ends should this education be direct ed?' 'Who shall control the educational facilities?' What layers of society sho the educational institutions serve? Of course, this general theme of struggle is filled in practice by a series of interlocking demands that move the student struggle from its initial, limited outlook

to a direct confrontation with the system. The questions raised above are answered by these demands favouring the working class and oppressed people, and supporting the rights of students and workers to run their own institutions.

These demands centre around three main organizations of the left were replaced spheres. Firstly, anti-imperialist actions by the new forms of militant actionsuch as the defence of the Vietnamese revolution. Secondly, support for workers' struggles which raise the consciousness of students from a narrow, social outlook. Thirdly, the struggle against the bourgeois university as an instrument of the capitalist state propogating the ruling class ideology and form

upon direct repression, but on the acceptance of bourgeois ideology and outlook by the masses. Capitalist ideas and ideology are dominant. The bourgeois outlook and system of values is extremely important, as it not only strongly affects the working class; it affects revolutionary were linked to the anti-war movement

It is essentially individualism: self-interest, egoism and competition being its most important and repugnant aspects. The individual capitalist, clawing his way up in a highly competitive society. places his own interests first- well before those of his own class. At times this makes cohesion of the bourgeois class difficult .

Bourgeois rule is perpetuated by the successful permeation of the white-collar workers(particularly) but also of the bluecollar workers with the same individualism. All the social pressures on an individual worker in this society lead him to look after his own interests first, and to believe he can achieve fulfilment by creating his own little world of thingsthrough ownership of a house, car etc and by having a better than average job.

This does not make him, the worker with the bourgeois values, a true bourgeois. He does not live by ownership of productive capital.

Young people are highly subject to these inary stages of radicalization. Much of the paraphenalia and music of the pop culture is basically individualist, and despite the espousal of 'togetherness, love and freedom' by much of the hippie and Woodstock-influenced young generation, bourgeois values ingrained in them still make genuine communal spirit difficult. This is well seen in the relative ease with which trendy capitalists take over the youth culture, and in the alienation of people from each other despite the verbiage) at mass gatherings such as rock festivals etc.

Paradoxically, the more individualist people are, the less chance they have t develop their full individuality. Women's Liberation is the first movement to display widespread recognition of this fact amongst its supporters. They realise hat a house, a car, consumer durables etc tucked away in the suburbs- the blissful picture painted by bourgeois advertising -is just no basis for developing their full individuality.

In allour work and publicity we must make clear the way in which individualism hinders young people in their progress along the revolutionary road, and in supporting the bourgeoisie as the dominant class- a position it could never maintain if there was a widespread spirit of collectivism amongst the population. For this reason we must support all move ments which break down this individuali and induce a collective, community spirit in large numbers of people. This is the great value of outward directed strike action(i.e., that which is not concerned directly with the strikers' incomes) such as the retail price maintenance, Norm Gallagher, Clarrie O'Shea, environmental, moratorium and other struggles. in our relations with Maoists, for instance, we need to approach them by demanding that they live up to the precepts of their own doctrine: fighting self- fighting the bourgeois individualism in their own ranks.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RADICALIZATION

The development of the new youth radicalization in Australia began in 1965,

after the despatch of Australian troops to Vietnam. This provoked a quick response and within a year the antiwar movement was growing rapidly. The forms of action and the politics of the period from 1965 on can be considered as a period when the old forms of student activity and the old of demonstrations, of sit-ins, occupations and the seeking of mass support as well as by a variety of new political formations.

The anti-war movement has continued to be the main thrust of this radicalization in Australia. This has fluctuated from time to time with the manoeuvres by the ruling class leaders and the varying sitreached in Sydney in 1966 when 10,000 monstrated against Johnson, and more recently in 1970 during the Moratoriums. However, the initial radicalization around the antiwar movement led on to student struggles around university issue: and later to a high school movement which organized largely around the war but also for demands for political rights in schools. Some of the student struggle such as the struggle against the army on campus, and some were merely struggles around disciplinary issues or minor issues such as library fines. However, what is important is that any issue that provoked student discontent was taken up and a protest movement organized, and direct action taken. A few of these struggles were successful but most of them failed to achieve their aims. On the other hand, they left a marked effect on students' consciousness, imbuing them with an understanding of thesystem that they are up against and teaching lessons on how

This period saw an enormous turnover in organizations in the youth movement. At the beginning of the period the only organizations existing were the Eureka Youth League, the youth affiliate of the Communist Party, and various Labour Clubs and ALP clubs at universities throughout the country. These clubs had had a long history, some going back thirty years, which had been started by Labour Party supporters. During the forties and fifties they tended to be dominated by the Communist Party through the EYL. The Labour Clubs were now the left of the CP and who had specifically rejected Stalinism.

to struggle against it.

This period saw the beginnings of many new organizations such as the Society for Democratic Action(SDA) in Brisbane and Adelaide, and Students for a Democratic Society(SDS) in Sydney and Melbourne. These organizations started with a leftliberal position around civil rights issues conscription and university struggles. They initially attracted many of the new radicals who were not yet socialists. Their whole style of activity was on a pragmatic, day-to-day basis. They ommitted all the possible errors of opportunism and ultra-leftism.

DA progressed beyond this initial liberalism with many of the activists being attracted to Marxism. However, this development led to the disintegration I SDA into various different revolutionary groups. SDS developed at one stage an anti-imperialist consciousness, but the level did not develop much beyond this, and in Sydney, after degenerating into advocating Karate, folded complete

Resistance was formed in Sydney in 1967 and achieved quick success with young workers and high school students. Its politics were more rigorous and thoughtout than the other youth organizations and it quickly eclipsed the YSL(Young Socialist League, formerly Eureka Youth League as a centre of attraction for young off-campus radicals. However, Resistance too suffered from its bad organizational procedures and lack of clear program. Inevitably a split developed which led to a spontaneist grouping and a majority in favour of a clear program and a democratic-centralist structure. From this tendency SYA was formed by a combination of the Sydney and Adelaide Resistance branches and a regroupment with Melbourne comrades on a clear basis, at our founding conference in August 1970.

PROGRAM AND ORGANIZATION

All these organizations and individuals fail because of their lack of a clear revolutionary program and their spontaneist

forms of organization. Like the other major questions facing the revolutionary movement, the differing theories of organization- small secret bands versus a mass party, politically all-inclusive discussion groups versus a politically homogeneous combat party, democratic centralism versus anarchism etc have been tested in practice over the years. and many lessons have been learnt. Many lives have been lost due to unnecessary mistakes and incorrect policies, but a wealth of experience has been drawn together throughout the world revolutionary movement.

Organizational questions are not abstract. An organizational form is not an end in itself, but derives from the political goals the program of the group, and the organ-izational question itself is a political question of the first order. No organizational form is immutable; it must correspond to whatever is needed at any particular stage of the struggle, in order to advance the political goal of the gro However, at the same time, our organizational norms are as important as our political program, and we do not change them lightly or without thought.

SYA is an organization which strives to win the new generation of radicalizing youth to the political perspectives of revolutionary socialism., to the struggle for the socialist transformation of Aust- bureaucratic centralist party paralleled ralia and the world.

secondly, we participate day-by-day in the political struggles of our generation, working to advance those struggles in a socialist direction, and attempting to train ourselves as revolutionary politicians who are politically solid and politically adept in avoiding the errors of opportunism and sectarianism. Thirdly, we recognize that as a youth organization we alone are not capable of organizing the vanguard of the working class to a successful conclusion in the struggle for socialism. For that historic task a workers combat party of the Leninist type is necessary, and our work is aimed toward helping to facilitate the building of such a party. To accomplish our primary goals SYA organizes itself according to the principles of democratic centralism, the organizational form developed by Lenin in building the Bolshevik party in

concept and does not lend itself to rigid definition and application regardless of time, place and circumstance. SYA as a youth organization adapts this form to its needs.

do not discuss and debate for the intellectual titillation involved, but to decide how to act, to fight to achieve our goals In order to be effective we have to fight in a unified way, and for that reason we strive for political homogeneity, ie. not for a monolithic organization that eliminates all differences and tolerates no disagreements, but for an organization based on a concrete political program around which there is fundamental political agreement. As a youth organization that recruits many members through its activities, we don't demand that everyone who joins be able to expound and defend a revolutionary Marxist position rom A to Z. We've never recruited anyone like that yet. But we are proud of our organization and want to build it, and century can escape that environment through the process of building our own organization, making our own mistakes and correcting our own mistakes, we learn a great deal about-revolutionary

Fundamental to the concept of democratc centralism is the principle of majority rule. That is, after a free and open dem- by the enemy we are fighting. If we ocratic discussion in which all opinions are expressed, a vote is taken. The pos- will never be able to destroy him. tion of the majority of the organization s the position that is implemented in action. The minority is free to maintain its disagreements, but a single face is presented to the public. The centralist aspect of democratic centralism is expressed in the fact that democratically elected leadership is empowered, and instructed by a conference to ensure the implementation of the decisions of the membership, and has full authority to act and speak in the name of the membership between conferences. Obviously, the decisions of the leadership are subject to approval or disapproval by the conferences of the organization, and the leadership is subject to replacement.

These practices maintain the internal

WHY DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM?

The need for an ideologically homogen-

eous and democratically centralized org-

anization flows from the perspective and

actuality of deepening social crisis and sharpening class conflict which makes imperative the revolutionary solution of basic social problems. If only a Leninist combat party is capable of organizing and and leading the working class and its allies to the conquest of power against imperialism and our ruling class, then everything we must do must be aimed at helping to build such a party. This is one reason for the democratic centralist organizational form of SYA . - to show in practice how to fight for and build towards the revolutionary transformation of society. We educate others by our example, and we learn ourselves in the process.

econdly, democratic centralism is the

organizational reflection of our revolutionary politics. It is a revolutionary form organization, as there would be no need for centralism and democracy unless a revolutionary fight were envisaged to On the other side, a democratic centralist organization with a reformist program is a contradiction in terms. The degeneration of the Russian Bolshevik party from a democratic centralist organization into a the abandonment of a revolutionary program by that same party and its adoption of the reformist course of 'building socialism in one country' in a similar way, the history of the revolutionary movement is full of examples of individuals whose rejection of Marxism rapidly entailed a rejection of democratic centralist norms-and for good reason. If you reject the revolutionary potential of the working class, and the need for the socialist transformation of society, you have no reason to subordinate even the most infinitesimal differences of opinion to that of a majority of those other individuals with whom you are working toward that common goals

Participatory democracy is the organizational form counterposed to democratic centralism. As most of us who have sat through meetings run by this method know full well, 'participatory democracy' While everyone may be able to speak, the meetings are usually dominated by one or two articulate individuals who have some position they are pushing. As far as the democracy is concerned, since no votes are taken, the consensus is established most often by the same SYA is a combat organization, in that we articulate individuals, or by those who are interested enough(or able) to stay until the bitter end of the meeting. Far from guaranteeing each individual the greatest voice in making decisions, it ensures that decisions will be made and implemented in the most undemocratic manner, withno-one being responsible to anyone for what happens. Participatory demagogy is a more accurate description of this method of organization.

> There is another premise underlying these organizational conceptsthat is worth ommenting on because it is a common error. That is the idea that somehow those of us living under world imperialism in the last half of the twentieth completely, that we can construct an organization which will be an embryo of the future society, where human freedom will expand to dimensions which are to us unconceivable.

However, thebasic fact is that our organizational concepts must be conditioned disregard the nature of the enemy, we Secondly, anyone who begins by rejecting the fact that being determines consciousness, and not vice versa, has a long way to go before arriving at revolutionary conclusions, much less revolutionary organization and strategy.

As Che Guevara pointed out, socialist man is an ideal that we all strive toward We believe that the norms of relationships in socialist society will be superior to those which exist today and we work towards implementing those norms as rapidly as possible. But that is quite different from thinking that the revolutionary organization under capitalism is the embryo of socialist society... of the socialist state. Its character is determined not by the future society it hopes to build, but by the present system which must be destroyed before that future can become a reality for all man-

democracy of the organization, and still safeguard the organizations ability to act in the most effective manner ie., with

LETTERS E.

Letters are welcome on all topics but keep them short (300 words) and state whether your name should be published.

Dear Comrade,

I am writing to comment on the "Open Letter to the Communist Party", written by Sol Salby in the latest Direct Action (June, 1971.).

I want to state first of all that I am in agreement with Sol when he speaks of the nature of Zionism (including Left Zionism), on the need to support the Palestinian Revolution, etc. .

As he states, Tribune itself has over the past months from time to time published information about Palestinian revolutionary movements etc.

That is not to say, of course, that in the letter columns or even in signed articles there may not be viewpoints which I personally disagree with.

But, Tribune is not only an organ for expression of C.P.A. policy, but also provides something of a forum for the left, as a whole a role no other paper

What I wish to take issue with Sol is his allegation that Zionists are flooding into the CPA, at the encouragement of the leadership.

I quizzed Sol about these "Zionists" and he named only one comrade - a student who has never expressed Zionist opinions to me, though I know has been active on a whole series of issues from Vietnam to south Africa and has been arrested a num- but as John Percy points out elsewhere ber of times in these protests.

Should a revolutionary party expel such a comrade assuming he disagrees on Zionism, because he has illusions about the reality of Israel?

A revolutionary party can ask that he accept the majority line on this issue, as decided by Congress (I personally accept it but think that it should be strengthened). It must also give him and others fullest rights to seek a change in that line.

Individual comrades with, for example, a stalinist, maoist, state capitalist or other viewpoint should be able to have a place in the revolutionary party, provided that: they do not engage in factional activity, they fight for their views within the party's democratic frame- clear and is seen to make it absolutely work, and essentially accept the programm. clear. atic line of the Party and work positively

Otherwise you negate democratic central-

Certainly, their first political loyalty in Australia should be to the revolutionary party. But no man can ever (if he is a thinking human being) agree with the "line" 100%.

At the moment, a stalinist minority in the CPA not only does not agree politically with the majority decisions (as is their absolute right) but actively seek to disrupt the party, have their own political party and newspaper and attack the Party as such, openly, whenever they feel cause.

The "Zionist" (singular) that Sol has found in the CPA has not done that -- on

A few other points: I wrote in Tribune letter columns because I had been attacked in an earlier tetter -- it is usual practice not to use other space to reply, but to reply on "equal ground" Sol Salby also has the right (and duty?) to enter into the controversy in the letter columns of Tribune.

> Yours fraternally, Denis FRENEY.

Denis Freney's letter contains only a personal reply. He is the only member personal reply. He is the only member of the Communist Party with a good record on the issure. So far as we know, Freney is the only ex-Trotskyist in the C.P. His own background (he spent some time in Algeria) gives him a good position. Thus a letter giving his own personal views can't be considered to represent his party's view.

While it is true that Tribune has published some information about the Palestinian revolutionary movement at the same time its stand has not been an unequivocally clear stand in support of the Palestinian revolution. Furthermore on some occasions Tribune tries to outmatch the ABC in its impartiality, for example on the 23rd of September, 1970 two interviews were published one with Said Sidaoui who gave the Arab point of view. On the opposite page there was an inter-

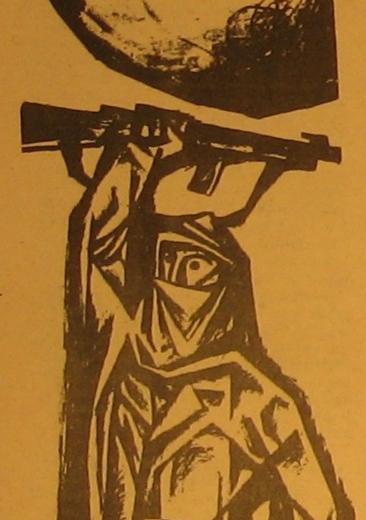
view entitled 'Israel's right to exist' with Henry Zimmerman of the Pro-Zionist wish Progressive Group for Peace in the Middle East. One does not juxtapose Vietanamese Revolutionaries with Prowar supporters or spokesmen for the Imperialists.

A clear cut stand is made even more necessary by the publication of the Pro-Zionist letters. At no stage did I suggest that Zionists are flocking to the party at the encouragement of the leadership. What was suggested that there is a group of left-wing Zionists in Sydney (and other centres) interested in socialist organisations. They have refused to join SYA on the grounds that we had a clear cut policy in support of the Arab revolution. One of them has made public his joining the CPA and others were expected to follow. Apparently in several months in the C.P. no educationals or other forms of discussion indicated a similar policy. The red herring about expelling the individual involved is absolutely irrelevant. The C.P. has many members who support the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia. There is no reason to expel a member just because he is going

to emigrate to Israel at the end of the Individual comrades with a Stalinist, Maoist or Zionist view have no. place in a revolutionary party, they can't possibly accept the programmatic line of the Party and work positively for that, in this issue the CPA is not a revolutionary party. It is enough that they run their own support clubs for the particular motherland as they see it. While the pro-Zionists in theparty(I do not pretend to know all of them) have not openly attacked the party line (if it has one) or tried to disrupt the party

because there aren't enough of them. At the same time, when the above mentioned comrade was attacking S.Y.A for not supporting Zionism - "The Jewish National Liberation Movement," while selling Tribune it was taken by the people around us to be official CPA policy and will be regarded as such in the future. That is until the CPA makes it's position on this question absolutely

I am still waiting for a reply from the



Melbourne, June 18th: Just last night, for those who were interested, the local idonzers of the People's Republic of China filled the Lower Melbourne Town Hall with eulogies of praise for the great socialist motherland. More like St. Peters report to the aposties on the indes-

cribible nature of paradise, the local pilgrims stammered for rhetoric and anecdote to somehow express the wonders they had seen on the recently completed Maytime tour.

At the same time Bulletin No. 2 of the Worker Student Alliance was freely available in the hall, and while the chairman refused to accept questions on China's role in East Pakistan WSA BULL No. 2 devoted three of its lead articles to the question. From the first:

"If China continues to remain silent when this sharpened class struggle occurs it will leave the way open for serious allegations that she is beginning to sell out the world revolution and will eventually followin the path of the USSR." From the second:

"Some comrades in WSA support Bangla Desh. Let Peking support it. A clear statement is demanded"

The three articles make fascinating reading and should make hot copyfor the Melbourne maoists--for any one really, because of what they indicate: the disorientation Australian Maoism is experiencing through the events in East Pakistan.

The standard reply Melbourne SYA has received from the WSA has previously been limited to tirades against the bourgeois press, to cries of "insufficient information" and accusations that we are ultraleft for advocating the principle of permanent revolution.

Well and good, but comrades, while we wait for your answer (or is it to be someone else's?) the Pakistan events run their

Chairman Mao RAMPANT to come to the aid of the revolution.

In the meantime, the Chinese government's foreign policy reaches for more revolts to betray, Chou En Lai, the prime minister who gave the tour such an enlightening audience, is playing peaceful-co-existence somewhere else. Whilst offering a \$13.5 million dollar interest free loan to the government of Ceyion, the Revolutionary Peoples' Republic has seen fit to denounce the Peoples' Liberation Front (the Ceylonese JVP) insurgency of March and April as

"acts of rebellion plotted by reactionaries at home and abroad for the purpose of undermining the interests of the Ceylonese". Now that's naughty: especially when VANGUARD (the newspaper of the CPA-ML) had expressed solidarity with the JVP uprising.

Small arms to Ayub Khan's army in Pakistan. Long term interest free loans to Bandaranaike's government in Ceylon.



APOCRYPHAL REVISIONISM

During the recent tour of China by various members of the Melbourne Worker Student Alliance there was a memorable meeting with Chou En-Lai. At one stage Chou asked if they knew any hippies, which was met with an instant and vehement denial. Imagine the earnest Maoists shock and dismay when Chou continued that they should get to know them as there were many things of value in the hippie

movement. This was bad enough but worse was to come. Chou then asked if any of them were members of the ALP. Again shocked denials. The final crushing blow came when he went to to suggest that they should work with the ALP to ensure a Labour Government which would produce better relations with the Peoples Republic of China. We may yet see Ted Hill standing for Prime Minister

TEAR THIS OUT AND GIVE IT TO A TRANSPORT WORKER

THE SOCIALIST YOUTH ALLIANCE SAYS SUPPORT THE SYDNEY BUS CREWS IN THEIR FIGHT WITH THE GOVERNMENT OVER ATLANTEAN

DEFEND AND DEVELOP PUBLIC TRAN-

New South Wales Premier Askin has just announced a 50% increase in fares on public transport, and says the bus crews attitude to Atlanteans has made this necessary. He also said that if people could not afford the new fares they could travel by private car or some other way.

One thing became quite obvious in the recent strike over Atlantean buses: Askin couldn't give a damn how long the bus crews remained on strike. Every day the strike went on it saved the government money, and also increased consumption of petrol - to the delight of the oil companies.

Askin's latest effort to put everyone in private cars will also please the tremendously powerful oil and car industry

We can all see as well that Askin hopes to make political capital out of public inconvenience caused by the strike. He wants to turn people against the bus crews and the labor movement. When there are no buses on the road, so he thinks, people will curse the bus workers When they have to pay 50% more, they will still curse them. They may even swing back to voting Liberal.

O.K. That's the way he wants to fight it. Turn this tactic against him

PUT IT TO YOUR WORKMATES AND YOUR NEXT UNION MEETING THAT FOR YOUR NEXT STRIKE ACTION YOU SHOULD KEEP THE TRANSPORT RUNNING BUT REFUSE TO COLLECT FARES.

See if Askin can let that go on indefinit-

See if that turns the travelling public against you.

See if Askin can claim that you don't have the public interest at heart.

See if he can dare to try locking you of and make himself the caused public inconvenience.

No responsible town planner in the world these days defends private cars as a system of mass transport. Everyone can see why for themselves any day in congested streets of Sydney.

We stand for a socialist society based on workers' control of industry. That mean workers' control of the NSW Transport Department, starting right now. Don't let your fellow workers pay exorb

itant fares! Not on what is supposed to be their own transport system - the one they say we all own! Defend public transport against the schemes of the oil and automobile

industry moguls - and their stooges in

parliament! Defend public transport for the sake of the city's environment!

Authorised by Socialist Youth Alliance. 3 Uther Street, Surry Hills.

A Palestinian-Australian Solidarity Comm- the twin filths of homosexuality and Trotittee has just been formed in Melbourne with the aim of distributing information and developing actions in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people.

The Committee at the moment consists of members of the Palestinian community in Melbourne, along with representatives Aarons pleads lack of knowledge for not from the Communist Party, the ALP's Socialist Left, the Worker-Student Alliance and the Socialist Youth Alliance.

The Committee adopted a set of aims around which it could work: 1) Solidarity with the Palestinian rev-

olution.

2) Palestine for the Palestinians, regardless of race and religion. 3) Opposition to Zionism, Arab reaction and imperialism in all its forms. 4) Support for liberation movements

in other parts of the world.

It was agreed of course, that the committee should be non-sectarian- that is, the politics of any particular group should not be allowed to intrude or be presented as the line of the committee as a whole. The main task of such a united front would be to organize actions and to convey the position of the Palest-

In Australia just as much as in the Middle East itself, it is important that in undertaking this task we are fully conscious of the actual position and possible role of

inians to large numbers of people.

Jewish people who are not Zionists. For the liberation of Palestine and the overthrow of Zionism, the help of large numbers of Jewish workers will be needed. The Israeli Socialist Organization (which publishes the paper Matgfer) has already made a brave start on this task within the state of Israel, and the Popular Democratic permissible within a revolutionary party. Front for the Liberation of Palestine has shown it is aware of this task. Likewise in Australia, to combat Zionism we must that work in the Socialist Youth Alliance explain that the national, religious and cultural rights of the Hebrew people must ieve in factional struggle within the left, be safeguarded.

The Palestinian-Australian Solidarity Committee is projecting a teach-in on the Palestinian question for the near future. The first activity, however, will be a an initial impact on the consciousness of Melbourne. The demonstration will assemble at the Trades Hall at 10.30 am on that A arons is thoroughly ignorant of Saturday morning for a march through the what democratic centralism is, how it

JULY 10 TRADES HALL TO THE CITY. CPA is quite in the dark about how the

Those of our readers who also read

'Tribune', the newspaper of the Comm-

unist Party of Australia would no doubt

have noticed a reference to the Socialist

Youth Alliance in an interesting article

by Laurie Aarons, national secretary of

Now, of course the SYA doesn't make a

point of answering or putting in context

every reference to ourselves that occurs

the CPA, in their issue of May 26.

in other publications. Firstly we're not that thin-skinned-we're quite confident of our politics and our activities. Secondly, it would take up an inordinately large amount of time and space in 'Direct Action'.

However, this particular article is of interest for several reasons. (The Maoist paper, 'Vanguard' also found it interesting, for rather different reasons, making an amalgam between it and an article on opposite page on homosexuality. This

evoked a new high(low) in Maoist journalism. The Maoist picture of hell must be skyism.) In the article Aarons states more frankly and openly than he or any other CPA leader has done before, their opposition to Stalin's frame-ups, purges and caricatures of Trotskyism as counter-revolutionary.

making a full positive analysis of Trotsky's ideas. He puts forward very tentative formulations like: I think that Trotsky's ideas about building socialism in one country are not as incorrect as Stalin's distortion of them would make out' and 'I think that Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution is not as incorrect as it is made out' Where he is definite - as in his characterisation of Trotsky's actions at Brest-Litovsk as 'objectively . . . a crime' unfortunately he happens to be wrong.

Nevertheless, the article up to this point, complete with five pictures of Trotsky is a progressive step and to be welcomed. However, the evolution of the CPA is not at all a simple process, a matter of a little historical honesty this week, a little more enlightenment next week and so on and hey presto- a revolutionary party! Its a lot more complex than that, and although the reappraisal made by the CPA of the Stalinist experience is quite impressive, especially when compared with its past history and the present position of Communist parties in other coun tries, further revelations and breaks with the past willhave to be made if it is to become a revolutionary party.

As an example of the continuing contradictions within the CPA, the last part of Aarons article is worth quoting fully: There is one item of the Trotskyist creed with which I am in strong disagreement. This is the view that factionalism is Some of the Trotskyists have retreated from that position. For example, those don't believe in factionalism. They belbut in their own organization they believe in Lenin's principle of democratic centralism, as I do."

This paragraph is quite revealing from several levels. It shows that although demonstration on July 10, aiming to make the CPA has gone some of the way in rejecting Stalinist history, it is still stuck with Stalinist methods. It shows also, was understood by Lenin and used by the Remember: DEMONSTRATION 10.30AM Bolshevik party. It shows finally that the

Socialist Youth Alliance operates, even As a Trotskyist I am aware that the only though we have published our position in many documents and articles.

Contrary to Aarons views, factions are not merely permissible in a democratic centralist organizations, they are essential olutionary movement. Therefore, there to it . Democratic Centralism, put brief- is little need to reply to this aspect of the ly, can be explained as the maximum possible democracy in arriving at decisions and the maximum possible efficiency and Attacks on homosexuals and homosexualcentralism in carrying them out. A revol- ity, however, whether they be from the utionary organization adopts a policy, makes a decision not just for the fun of it, must always give cause for alarm. Homobut to carry it out, to put it into action! Thus the need for centralism, for unity of Jews, have always been an oppressed minthe organization in carrying out its decis- ority under capitalism. And, like women, ions. In arriving at decisions, in order to they are totally the victims of the male achieve the most democracy, it is essen- heroic virility myth, of the sexual reptial that factions be permitted to organize ression engendered by a patriarchy around a clear political position. The minority must have the right to organise for its viewpoint, with the ultimate perspective of becoming the majority.

Democratic centralism of course has no- the achievement of a high plane of sexthing in common with bureaucratic centralism where the only faction permitted is the ruling clique, personalities etc, anything but politics.

With the continuing emergence of the pro-Russian opposition inside the CPA into a seperate party, perhaps the CPA leadership might be able to steer clear of the twin evils of liberalism and Stalinism, and adopt an internal method of organization suitable to a revolutionary Marxist party. Unhappily, although they are getting more honest about history, their day to day politics remains a bad mixture of the Stalinist past and their possible liberal future. This may change. We hope so.

by JILL JOLLIFFE

Very few people would take cognisance of the ravings of 'Vanguard', the organ of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist). However, these exponents of re-vamped Stalinism have some following amongst student youth groups in Melbourne, and cannot, therefore, be dismissed lightly, especially when they espouse views as totalitarian as those in the article to be discussed.

A Vanguard article of June 10 entitled "Rapid Degeneration of the Aarons revisionist clique" is concerned with jointly attacking homosexuality and Trotskyism, (no doubt assuming a causal connection:the only component missing from this familiar assortment of epithets is anti-Semitism.)

answer to the latter attack is a political one, currently being answered by the growth of the Socialist Youth Alliance in Australia and the vanguard position of the Fourth International in the world rev-

defenders of capitalism or from Stalinists sexuals, like blacks, like women, like

In a revolutionary socialist society, the framework should exist for all individuals to develop to the highest stage to which a human being can develop, including

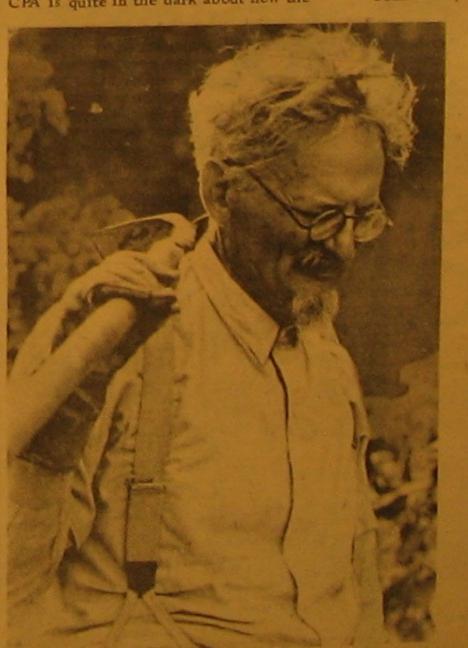
To 'Vanguard' homosexuality is 'deprayity', 'a sea of filth', and 'appalling muck' They even have a prescription for the cure of homosexuals in their vision of a socialist society.

"In classless society, sexual depravity will be swept aside. There will be many casualties from the corruption of capitalism. They will be assisted and helped to enjoy the new, wholesome, constructive life of socialism. In such a society the relationship between men and women will be normal and healthy Those who suffer abnormality will be given treatment, care and respect! (my emphasis)

In other words, homosexuality is an'abnormality' to be cured. Homosexuals are people who have a stronger preference for homosexual rather than heterosexual activity. They prefer one form of sexual expression to another. How can one form of sexual activity be regarded as 'immoral' or 'abnormal' above another? One suspects that perhaps Chairman E.F. Hill regards all sexual activity as immoral as do the Christians and the bourgeois moralists.

Homosexuals in the US and the world over are now actively participating in uniting with revolutionaries to demand the right to exist as human beings. Not to be cured, rehabilitated or psycho-analysed, but to exist in their own right as people with homosexual preferences. Socialists must now unequivocally support their demands. The socialist movement has not been noted in the past for its tolerance in this respect- it has in fact, been riddled with the repressive puritan morality and philistinism of the bourgeoisie.

To these people, who claim to be Marxist-Leninists, it should be pointed out that Lenin's government unhesitatingly abolished all anti-homosexual legislation imm ediately after the revolution. It was only in 1934 that Stalin, the gravedigger of Leninism, reintroduced the repressive anti-homosexual legislation which remains to this day in the USSR.



Trotsky in exile in Mexico



New York poster denouncing repression of homosexuals



If you could see their national sport. you might be less keen to see their sportsmen

Details of the major protests called by the Sydney Anti-Apartheid Movement are as follows.

Tuesday, July 3: South Africa vs. Sydney: 1pm.-140 pm. — Peter Hain speaks on front lawn Sydney University. Then proceed to Moore Park, where they will disperse and enter the Sports Ground, at 2 pm. Full details of where to meet inside, etc., will be announced beforehand. Saturday July 10: South Africa vs. NSW: 1230 pm. — rally at Moore Park 2 pm. protest inside Sydney Sports Ground. Saturday July 17: First Test: 1230 pm. — rally at Moore Park 2 pm. protest inside Cricket Ground.

In Melbourne, On Saturday, July 3, the South Afric.

In Melbourne,
On Saturday, July 3, the South Amcans are scheduled to play a Victorian
team at Olympic Park. Initial plans of
HART are for a rally in the Treasure
to Olympic Park. After another ruly,
individual groups will express the apposition to the tour as they see appropriate.

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